H3164

A VINDICATION OF THE Primitive Church, AND DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY: In ANSWER to Mr. *Baxter*'s Church History OF BISHOPS, And their COUNCILS Abridged: As also to some part of his Treatise of *EPISCOPACY*.

Ecclesiæ salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesiis efficerentur schismata, quot Sacerdotes. Hieron. adv. Lucif.

Ab illo Deo Patre, ab hac Ecclesia Matre, nullius me Hominis Crimina, nullius Calumnia separabunt. Augustin. Coll. Carth. 3.

Ego illam Ecclesiam defendo, hanc assero qualicunque voce in qua quicquid fuero, illa Ecclesia est, Aug. ibid.

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PREFACE.

IT *is a very just Censure that* Polybius *pass'd upon* Phylarchus, *one that wrote the History of the* Achaian *War*, That he did not understand the principal Business of an Historian, because he conceal'd all the vertuous and generous Actions of one Side, *and insisted only upon such as might render them odious to the Reader: the Rigor and Seveverity of Execution which the* Achaians *were sometimes obliged to use, are set out with all the miserable Circumstances that can be conceived on such Occasions; but not a word of their Clemency and Humanity which they commonly us'd towards their Enemies, when they fell into their Power: As if, says that Noble Writer*, It were the Office of an Historian to record only the Worst of Humane Actions,

Polyb. l. 2. τῆς δὲ μεγαλοπολιτῶν γενναιότητος ἢ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχρήσατο καιρὸς οὐδὲ κατὰ πόσον ἐποίησατο μνήμην.

to reckon up the Faults and Miscarriages of Men, and not their great and commendable Actions; and as if the Examples of Sin might be of greater Benefit and Edification to the Reader than those of Goodness and Vertue. *Mr.* Baxter's History of Bishops and their Councils, *being writ after the same Model, falls unavoidably under the same Reproof, unless perhaps the Disingenuity that is condemn'd in a Heathen, may become a Christian Writer; and what the one must not do to his Enemy, the other may offer to his Brethren and Fathers, to the great Lights and Ornaments of the Christian Church.*

ὥσπερ τὸ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τῷ πραξαντι οἰκειότερον ὑπάρχοντος ἱστορίας, τὸ δὲ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τῷ ἔργων ἐπαινεῖν.

Now this History of Bishops is nothing else but an Account of all the Faults that Bishops have committed in the several Ages of the Church, without any mention of their good Actions, of the piety and severity of their lives, of their Zeal for the Faith, of their Charity towards the Poor, of their Contempt of

of the World, of their Labor and Diligence in their Office. These were things he thought, perhaps, not to belong to a Church-Historian to relate: These were improper, unedifying Examples, at least wise they were not very agreeable to the Design of our Author, which was, to disgrace Diocesan Episcopacy. *This Weeding of Church-History for the Faults of Bishops, is not to write, or abridge History, but to draw up an Indictment; and because many things are falsly charg'd, it is no better than a Libell.*

But we need not look for a severer Censure of this Church-History, *than that we have in Mr.* Baxter's *own Critical Preface to it: For as his Church History is design'd to disgrace Diocesan Bishops and their Councils, so the Preface looks as it were intended to disgrace this History: For the Qualifications of a* Credible Historian, *which he reckons up there, appear so little in our Abridger, and the Character of Incredible Relators so nearly resemble him, that one might suspect a*

Trick in it; and that ſome of Tom Coryat's *Enſurers had given their Teſtimony to the Work.*

1. It is ſuppoſed (*ſays Mr.* B.) that a Man ſhould believe his Senſes: *Surely our Author was aſleep when he wrote this, and thought he ſaw every thing he relates. But how ſhall we believe our Senſes, ſince we are told, in this Hiſtory, that they were not* Preſbyterians, *but Epiſcopal Men that began the late War againſt the King?*

2. The Hiſtory of the Goſpel is certainly credible. *This would mightily enſure the Credit of this Abridgement, if all were Goſpel that Mr.* Baxter *writes.*

3. Prophets who had Divine Inſpiration, and Viſion, had that Evidence that gave them a Certainty, tho not to others. *It may be Mr.* B. *has heard a* Bene ſcripſiſti de me; *but becauſe he confeſſes this to be no Evidence to others, we may ſuſpend our Faith; and upon Examination believe as much as we ſhall find reaſon to do.*

4. When

4. When Hiſtory delivers a matter of Fact and Sence by the common Conſent of all thoſe that knew it, tho' of contrary Minds, Diſpoſition and Intereſt. *The Superiority of Biſhops over Presbyters is acknowledg'd by* Catholicks, *and* Schiſmaticks *and* Hereticks, *Men of very* contrary Minds, Diſpoſition and Intereſt; *and yet this Church Hiſtory would have us believe the contrary: Here we are in a Streight: For whether ſhall we belive in this Caſe the Preface or the Book?*

5. When the Hiſtory of any Perſon or Action is prov'd by continued and viſible Effects, as that *William* of *Normandy* Conquer'd *England*, while there are ſo many Effects of that Conqueſt in our Laws and Cuſtoms: *And what may be prov'd by more viſible and continu'd Effects than the Superiority of Biſhops over Presbyters? The Laws and Cuſtoms of all Churches are full of this; all the Chriſtian World being govern'd by Dioceſan Epiſcopacy till the laſt Age; and yet notwithſtanding theſe viſible effects,*

we must not believe this Government to be Apostolical, when the Ancient History that delivers it as such is prov'd by such Continu'd visible Effects. *Here we are in a great Streight again, which to trust, the* Critic *or the* Historian.

6. That History is credible which speaketh consentingly against the known Interest of the Author. *Well, but many of* Mr. B's *Characters of Ancient Bishops, are taken from profess'd Enemies, or persons manifestly prejudic'd, as his Accounts of* Athanasius, Theophilus, Cyril, *and divers others do manifestly shew: But here he does endeavour to clear himself, and says,* What I say of the Miscarriages of Bishops and Councils is most in their own Words: *Oftentimes they are not the Words of the Bishops or Councils, but* Mr. Baxter's *Own, when he mistakes in Translating them.*

What I say against Popes, is but the Recital of what is said by the Greatest Defenders and Flatterers of Popes: *And let those Flatterers and*

and Defenders anſwer him if they think it worth their while; but becauſe upon this occaſion he is pleas'd to give Account of his Authors, let us conſider his Authorities. He tells us in the firſt place, who he has not made uſe of: I give you not a word (*ſays he*) *out of* Luther, *nor* Illyricus, *nor the* Magdeburgenſes, *&c. It is no great Matter: For they were ſomething diſaffected to Popery, and therefore they may be liable to Exceptions*: *But it is ſomething hard to reject thoſe that follow.* No nor out of the Collections of *Goldaſtus*, *Marquardus*, *Freherus*, *Rubrus*, *Piſtorius*, &c. *So familiar to him*, *that* Marquardus Freherus *makes two Authors by the ſame Figure that* Marcus Tullius Cicero *makes three*: *Unleſs you will lay this Miſtake upon the Printer; but then you cannot eaſily give a reaſon, why, in the midſt of ſo many Surnames*, Freherus *ſhould have his Chriſtian Name more than any of the reſt*: *But whoever this miſtake belongs to, it is plain, Mr. B. had but little Acquaintance with*

thoſe

those Collections. He tells us, He gives us not a Word out of them. *It must be surely great Modesty to conceal his Authors, or his Ignorance not to know them: For he does really gives us several things from these Collections, and cites his Authors too.* Egristhart *and the* * Anonimous Author *of the Life of* Lewis *the Emperor, are cited with several others that are published in some of those Collections which Mr.* B. *denies to have given his Reader one word out of: It would sound something harsh from a Compiler of General History, to say, That for that of* England, *he had not given one word out of the Collections of* Cambden, Savil, *or* Selden, *but only out of* Alford *or* Cressey; *and yet to cite* Bede, *or* Newburgensis, *or* Huntington, *&c. It is a strange thing, that a Man who talks so much of leaving the World, should not yet have left the Vanity of pretending, and of mustering up Books of which he had never seen any more than the Titles.*

* Call'd by *Aimon*, l. 4. c. ult. *Adtmarus*, and *Adelmus* by P. *Massonus.*

Thus far Mr. Baxter *gives Account of his Authors* negatively; *in the next*

next place he informs poſitively, *whence this Worthy Rhapſody is taken.*

The Subſtance of the Common Hiſtory (*the Rarities are not to be enquired after whence they come*) is taken out of the commonly received Church Hiſtorians, *and among them Mr.* B. *does reckon* Nazianzen, *the firſt time doubtleſs that ever he appear'd among the* Commonly received Church Hiſtorians: *Mr.* B. *names* Euſebius, Socrates, *and ſome others; but I am afraid Mr.* B. *miſtakes Dr.* Hanmar's *Tranſlation for* Euſebius, *&c. Whereas this* Engliſh *Tranſlation which* Mr. B. *makes uſe of, has ſeldom the Sence of the Authors, and oftentimes none at all. The main part of the Councils he owns to be taken out of* Binius, *of an Old incorrect Edition of the Year* 1606. *but it muſt be noted, that where* Mr. B. *did not underſtand* Binius, *he is pleas'd to give ſomething of his own.*

7. The next Degree of Credibility depends upon the Veracity, or Credible Fitneſs of the Reporter,

as,

as, 1. One that liv'd upon the place, or near. 2. A Wiſe Man. 3. One that made it his long and hard Study. 4. One that is Impartial, a lover of Peace, and not engaged in Faction. 5. A Sober, Calm, Conſiderate Man. 6. Of manifeſt Honeſty, Conſcience, *&c. And after this, he tells us of ſeveral ſorts of Men that are not to be believ'd: among others,* One that is deeply engag'd in a Party; One that ſhews a Malignant Spirit, that extenuateth or denieth (he might have added concealeth) all the Good that was in his Adverſaries, and faſtens on them all the Odium that he can, without juſt Proof, *mutato nomine de te*; One that is ignorant or proud; a ſilly, weak Man; nor one that is paſſionately raſh, *with many more things to this purpoſe. And how well the Circumſtances of Credibility agree with his Hiſtory, or how little theſe diſcrediting Circumſtances concern him, the Reader will beſt judge:* How Impartial, how Calm, how diſingag'd from Faction, how well vers'd in this Study?

dy? *As for his Temper, the Books he lately Publiſh'd ſufficiently diſcover it; and let the Reader judge, whether ever any Man rail'd with greater Intemperance, or leſs Provocation? Now to give ſome Inſtances of his Chriſtian Meekneſs*, pag. 19. *he calls the preſent Biſhops of the Church of* England, A few Turbulent Prelates, p. 46. Silencing, deſtroying Prelates. p. 73. Proud, Contentious, Ambitious, Hereticating part of the Biſhops. p. 50. Hereticating Prelates; *and this is a Title he takes great delight in, and applies to all Councils that condemn any Hereticks.* p. 77. *He has much ado to forbear calling* Theophilus *of* Alexandria a down-right Knave. p. 95. *Speaking of Biſhops, he calls them* the Fire-brands of the World. p. 98. Self-conceited Biſhops. p. 196. Mercileſs, Furious Biſhops. p. 183. The Confounders of Churches, *&c. And this is the Temper of the* Catholick, *of the* mere Chriſtian, *as Mr.* B. *is pleaſed to ſtyle himſelf.* Bitterneſs, *and* Wrath, *and* Clamor, *and* Evil Speaking, *are*

theſe

these the Fruits of that mere Christian Spirit? To say no worse, This Spirit cometh not of him that calleth us.

But because Mr. B's *Character of a* Credible Historian *regards not only those that write an Original History, it will be expedient to add something concerning such Qualifications as are most necessarily required in an* Abridger, *or* Collector *of General Church History at this time.*

1. *It is very requisite, that whosoever undertakes to write a General History of Bishops and Councils, should be acquainted with the Languages in which those Historians, out of whom he collects, have written: For it is neither safe, nor very decent to depend altogether upon Translations. Who does not see, who has read* Valesius *his Edition of the Ancient Church Historians, how necessary it was to translate them a new? And how often former Translations had mistaken the Meaning of those Authors, in Passages very Material? And who would not smile, after all this, to see a man pretend-*

pretending to Learning, tranſcribing out of Dr. Hanmar's *Tranſlation, and Copying out the groſſeſt of his Miſtakes? As for Inſtance,* p. 83. *Mr.* Baxter, *out of that* Engliſh *Tranſlation, ſays*, That *Hypatia* taught in the Schools which *Plotinus* continued. *He ſhould have ſaid,* That he taught in the *Platonick* School, deſcended or continued down from *Plotinus*, i. e. *where he had taught above a Hundred Years before* Hypatia *was born: For* Plotinus *died about the Year of Chriſt,* 270. Hypatia *flouriſh'd in the beginning of the Fifth Century: And* p. 127. *we have this imperfect Sence,* Alſo that he embraceth the Venerable Images which the Oeconomy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: *Where he obſerveth* that the Verb is left out, *whereas the Sence is perfect in the* Greek, *and there needs no Verb*; The Venerable Images of the Oeconomy of Chriſt: *But of this ſort*

Τῷ πλατωνικῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοτίνου καταγομένῳ διδασκείῳ. Scholam à Plotino deductam, *Vales.*

εἰκόνας τῆς οἰκονομίας, &c.

ſort of Miſtakes it would be endleſs to give Inſtances, the Tranſlations of the Greek *Hiſtorians and Councils, which he has made uſe of being very bad.*

But it may be alleadg'd here, in Mr. Baxter's *Defence, that ſeveral other Compilers of Councils, and Church Hiſtory, had as little* Greek *as he: For* Surius *and* Crabbe *had none at all, and* Baronius *diſcovers his Ignorance in this part, by the miſerable Verſions he is forc'd to make uſe of.* Binius, *Mr.* B's. *Author does not ſeem to have any, for all his* Greek *and* Latin *Edition of the Councils. And* Bayle, *a* French-Man, *and a Late Abridger of the Councils, had juſt ſo much* Greek, *as to be able to derive the* Anomæi, *Hereticks that denied Chriſt to be of like Subſtance with the Father, from* α, & νόμος, exleges, *or* ſine Lege, Men without Law. *Well then, let Mr.* B. *be excus'd in this particular, for undertaking to write Church Hiſtory upon the Credit of Wretched Tranſlations. It will be ſurely indiſpenſably neceſſary to underſtand theſe Tranſactions: But becauſe*

Mr. B.

Mr. B. *is ſo puzzl'd with theſe* Latin *Verſions, I wiſh'd for his ſake, that* Hanmar *had tranſlated* Binius: *I wonder in what* Dictionary *Mr.* B. *found that* ire ad Comitatum, *was* to go the Palace of Great Prelates? p. 56. *We have ſtrange Confuſion of Diſcourſe.* p. 88. *About the* Scriptures, *the* Divine *and* Terrible Scriptures, *for want of underſtanding the Language of thoſe times; for all that Scripture is nothing elſe than* Sacra Imperatoris, *the Emperor's Letter.* p. 107. Mr. B. *repreſents* Theodoret *as a* Jeſuit, *not, I believe, out of any Evil Will, but for want of a little* Latin. Theodoret *ſays* (*according to Mr.* B's. *Tranſlation*) I take not my ſelf to ſay true, but I know I pleaſe God. *Vere non dico, niſi quomodo novi placere Deo,* i. e. In good Truth I do not ſpeak, but as I am perſuaded is acceptable to God: *But* p. 112. *Mr.* B. *tranſlates the Tranſlation of* Nicephorus *ſomething pleaſantly.* Stephanus (*ſays he*) *was kill'd by the Boys*, with ſharp

επ' αληθείας λέγω εἰμι ὡς οἶδα αρέσκειν Θεῷ.

Quills. *Surely theſe were* Porcupin's *Quills to do this Execution: Yet it is to be acknowledged, that he has the Authority of* Qui mihi *for the Quills; but becauſe in the ſame place theſe* Calami acuti *are ſaid to* be ſharpened like Spears, *it will make new Difficulties: The Critics would be at a loſs about it, if ſome* Dictionaries *did not render* Calamus *a Reed, or a* Cane, *which poſſibly may better agree with the Deſcription of theſe Fatal Weapons. I muſt confeſs I was ſomething ſurpriz'd with Mr.* B's *ſingular way of rendring the Names of Places; as* p. 96. The Council at *Regienſe,* at *Arauſican.* p. 131. *at* Toletane. p. 217. George *Biſhop, of* Prænestine. p. 358. D. *of* Spoletane. p. 428. *Council of* Palentine; *with many more of this kind. It would ſound ſomething ſtrange with us, to ſay, the Univerſity of* Oxonian, *or of* Cantabrigian: *For my part, if he ſtand upon it, I do not love to contend about Words, let him have Liberty of Conſcience in Grammar as well as Religion.*

καλάμοις ἴσα δορατίοις ὀξυβελέσιν.

But

But Mr. B's *Tranſlation of Canon the* 21*ſt. of the Council of* Tours *is ſomething more conſiderable, becauſe Mr.* B. *makes Remarks upon it, in behalf of ſome Diſſenters: The Paſſage is ſomthing long, but to make the Reader amends, it ſhall be the laſt; not for want of Matter, but becauſe I would not tire him with too many Inſtances of one ſort: the foreſaid Canon is thus rendred by Mr.* B. p. 187. Thoſe that the Law commandeth to be put to Death, if they deſire to hear the Preacher, we will have to be convicted unto life (*i.e.* not to die;) for they are to be ſlain with the Sword of the Mouth, and depriv'd of Communion, if they will not obſerve the decrees of the Seniors left them, and do deſpiſe to hear the Paſtor, and will not be ſeparate. Some Sectaries among us (ſays Mr. *B.*) are of the ſame mind againſt putting penitent Malefactors to Death. *Whatever mind ſome Sectaries may be of, it is plain Mr.* B. *did not apprehend the Mind of this Council. The matter in ſhort is thus:*

This Canon ſpeaks of ſuch as having vowed Virginity, do afterwards marry; and that tho' the Eccleſiaſtical Laws do puniſh ſuch with perpetual Excommunication; yet this Council thought fit ſo far to mitigate the puniſhment, as to offer Pennance and Reconciliation to ſuch who ſhall ſeperate from theſe Marriages; which the Council expreſſes thus: Nos vero ſi quos lex perimi jubet, ſi cupiunt audire præconem volumus ut convertantur ad vitam: Nam perimendi ſunt Oris Gladio, & Communione privandi, ſi relicta ſibi Seniorum decreta obſervare noluerint, & paſtorem ſuum audire deſpexerint, & eſſe ſeparati noluerint, i. e. "*We or-*
"*der, that thoſe whom the Rigor of the*
"*eccleſiaſtical law commands to be cut*
"*off, if they deſire to hear the voice of the*
"*Preacher, (calling them to Repen-*
"*tance) ſhould be converted and live:*
"*For thoſe that refuſe to obey the De-*
"*crees of the Biſhops that have been*
"*before us, and alſo neglect their Pa-*
"*ſtor, and will not ſeperate themſelves,*
"(i. e. *from thoſe unlawful Marriages*)

" *ges*) *are to be cut off by the Sword* " *of the Mouth, and Excommunicati-* " *on. And this is explained by what follows preſently after,* Qui verò in hac pertinacia perdurare voluerint, & potius in volutabro malæ Converſationis permanere quam ſe de vetito Conjugio ſeparare perenni Excommunicatione damnentur, i. e. *Let thoſe who will obſtinately perſiſt, and chuſe rather to wallow in the Enjoyments of a forbidden Marriage, than to ſeperate from it, be condemn'd to perpetual Excommunication. I have promis'd to ſpare the Reader's Stomach, or Spleen in this kind; and to add no more Inſtances of Mr.* B's *Succeſs in Tranſlating* Binius, *and therefore ſhall add no more of this kind.*

3. *It is very requiſite for an Abridger of Church-Hiſtory, of Bishops and Councils, to conſult the beſt Editions of thoſe Hiſtorians and Councils; leaſt inſtead of the Words of the Hiſtorians, or of the Councils, he obtrude upon his Reader the Overſight of Copyiſts: If Mr.* B. *had been at this pains, and conſulted* Sirmond's *Edition of the*

French Councils, *he must have wanted several Allegations for the Congregational way, which are nothing else but corrupt Readings of the Ancient Canons of the* Gallicane *Church, as is shewed more at large in this Book: Nor can we suspect* Sirmond *as too great a Favorer of Diocesan Bishops, since it is well known how he is charg'd by the Abbot of St.* Cyran, *under the Name of* Petrus Aurelius, *for having falsified a Canon of the Council of* Orange *to the prejudice of the Episcopal Order, to comply perhaps with a Design the Jesuits had then on Foot to Govern the Papists of* England, *independent from any Diocesan Bishops:* Jesuits *care as little for Bishops, as our Protestant Dissenters can do.*

4. *It is very requisite that an Abridger of Church-History use some little Diligence in Examining and Comparing of Authors; at least in considering that Author out of which he takes his History: for want of this little Care it is, that Mr. B. tells us, out of his own Head,* That *Theodahatus* yielded up *Rome* and the Crown

to

to *Beliſarius*, p. 130. *Whereas* Theodahatus *was kill'd before* Beliſarius *came near* Rome; *and it was from* Vitiges *that* Rome *and the Crown were forced by that Great General*, *as* Procopius *and* Evagrius *do particularly relate. It is an odd Overſight of Mr.* B. p. 201. *where he tells us, that King* Egica, *before the Council of* Toledo writeth a Sermon for them (*the Biſhops*) wherein he tells them, that every Pariſh that have twelve Families muſt have their proper Governor; i. e. *a Presbyter: Whereas that is not part of the* King's Sermon, *as Mr.* B. *calls that Prince his Letter to the Council, but a Canon of the Council it ſelf: For the King's Letter ends long before with a Formal Date.* Dat. die 7° fæliciter 6o Regni: Toleto. *In the ſame Page Mr.* B. *to ſhew his Skill, makes* Willibrood *and* Wilfrid *to be the ſame; I wonder the more at this, becauſe* Binius, *in this very place, from whence Mr.* B. *takes his account of* Willibrood *and* Wilfrid *does plainly make them to be two perſons; but when Mr.* B. *goes to play*

the Critick, this is constantly his Success: But Binius *leads him into a mistake*, p. 253. *where he transcribes, out of his Author*, That *Ludovicus* deprives him (*Pepin*) of his Kingdom of *Italy*, and divideth it between his two Sons by the Second Wife, *Charles* and *Rodolphus: It is great news to Historians, to hear, that* Lewis *had two Sons by his Second Wife, since no mention is made of any other but* Charles; *the Writer of that Emperor's Life, speaks of no other; nor* Ammonius *who transcribes him; nor the following Chronicles.* Girard, Vignier, Mezeraye, *who reckon up* Lewis *his Children, have no such person; and say expressly, that* Judith *had but one Son: She had a Brother indeed nam'd* Rodolphus, *but he had no share of the Empire: But this Division of* Pepin's *Kingdom, was between* Lotharius *and* Charles, *as the* Annal. Franc. *before mentioned do deliver: Nor was* Italy *the Kingdom of* Pepin, *the Son of* Lewis, *as* Binius *and Mr.* B. *tells us; but* Aquitain. Lotharius *had been a good while before made*

made King of Italy, *and Crown'd by the Pope, in the place of* Bernard. *Mr.* B. *by way of Remark*, p. 342. *ſays*, That it was no wonder that Pope *Benedict*, and his Company ſhould condemn *Berengarius*; *but* Lanfrancus, *in his Book againſt* Berengarius, *writes, that* Leo *the Ninth was the firſt that condemn'd him ſome Years after the Death of* Benedict, *Anno Dom.* 1050. *We have a Conjecture of Mr.* B's. p. 356. *that is not unpleaſant, and that ſhews his profound Skill in Hiſtory: He cites an Epiſtle of* Gregory *the Seventh to the King of* Denmark, *where, among other things, he invites him to ſend his Son with an Army to conquer a Maritime province not far from* Rome, poſſeſs'd by vile and ſluggiſh Hereticks: What Province he means (*ſays Mr.* B.) I am not certain, unleſs it be the *Waldenſes. It is pretty well gueſs'd: For* Gregory *the Seventh died in the Year* 1085. *and* P. Waldo, *from whom the* Waldenſes *had their Denomination, began to be taken notice of about the Year* 1160. *But Fourſcore*

Years

Years break no Square; nor is our Author much more happy in his Geography, *than in his* Chronology: *For* p. 421. *He tells us, that there was a Council held at* Vienna *near* France: *As if a Man should say, the City of* Sarum *near* England: *But there would be no end of instancing all the Oversights of this Church-History: the Reader may dip at adventure, and if he do not light upon Mistakes as Remarkable as any of these, he has but ill Fortune: He that takes any pleasure to trace* Beveus *and Mistakes, may find here an endless Comedy of Errors.*

5. *But I had almost forgot one Qualification very requisite for a Church-Historian, which must not be omitted, the Learned call it* vas, *the want of which, betrays a Writer sometimes, when Fortune is not propitious, into great Absurdities. I will not be so bold with* Mr. B. *as to say this was the Occasion of a strange Misadventure of his,* p. 122. *For speaking of the Canon of Scripture concluded upon in a Council at* Rome, *under Pope* Gelasius,

Gelaſius, *Mr.* B. *makes a wonderful Diſcovery, that* in the Canon they put a Book called, *ORDO HISTORIARUM: And now let the Church of* Rome *value it ſelf if it dare, for having preſerv'd the Canon of Scripture entire and undiminiſh'd; ſince Mr.* B. *plainly diſcovers a Book to have been once in their Canon, which is not now to be found in any of the Pope's* Bibles. *A ſtrange thing this! that no body ſhould ever diſcover this before*: But *I wonder that he did not find out another Book in that Canon, every whit as ſtrange as this, and that is* Ordo Prophetarum: *For there it is as a General Title before the Prophets, as this* Ordo Hiſtoriarum *is before ſome Hiſtorical Books. This miſtake is as if a Man ſhould find a Chapter in the Bible call'd* Contents, *or a Book call'd* Apocrypha.

I have given theſe few Inſtances, out of many of Mr. B's *great Abilities in Church-Hiſtory, that the Reader may perceive how much this Infamous Libel againſt Biſhops and Councils is to be depended upon; and let any Man*

that

that has any acquaintance with these Mattters, judge impartially whether this History do really disgrace Bishops or Councils, or any body else so effectually as it does the Author? And if this be the Effect of having made History ones long and hard Study, *even let us burn* Binius *and* Baronius, *and go make Buttons: We may with honest Application employ our time so to much better purpose.*

I must detain the Reader a little longer with this Preface, while I endeavor to clear some Passages of this Book, which may seem to be answered already, the Effect of them being said in behalf of Episcopacy, and replied to on the part of the Dissenters: For some part of this Book being Printed 8 *or* 9 *Months ago, and the Subject having been treated by several Hands, it could not be, but that several things should be said to the same effect in Answer to Mr.* B's *Allegations for the Congregational Way; and in Confirmation of Diocesan Episcopacy, with what is written here; and being replied to there, seem already to have receiv'd*

ceiv'd their Anſwer: Wherefore I conceiv'd it neceſſary to take off ſuch Exceptions as prevented any Paſſages in this Book; and becauſe it could not be done conveniently, in the Book it ſelf, to reſerve them for the Preface: But upon Examination, I found them to be fewer than I did at firſt imagine; For Mr. Baxter, *ſince his Church-Hiſtory,* and Treatiſe of Epiſcopacy *has made no farther Impreſſion into this Controverſie; I have examin'd ſome Chapters of that Book that purſu'd the Deſign of this Hiſtory, by the Addition of ſeveral Hiſtorical Paſſages to diſgrace the Epiſcopal Government, as the occaſion of all Miſchiefs in the Church: As for the firſt part, about the Order of Biſhops, it had too many particulars to be minutely conſidered; but the Subſtance of it having been ſaid in ſhort in the firſt Chapter of his Church, and more at large in his Diſputation of Church Government, has been examin'd in the beginning of this Book. Dr.* O. *hath follow'd Mr.* B. *in the Congregational way; and as for his Allegations out of Antiquity, they are tran-*

tranſcribed out of Mr. Baxter, *with little of Improvement or Addition. One would think a diligent Man might find good Gleaning after Mr.* B. *but Dr.* O's. *Book, it ſeems, is anſwered already by an unknown Hand: But there is a later Book publiſhed under the Title of* No Evidence for Dioceſan Churches, *&c.* in the Primitive Times, in Anſwer to the Dean of St. *Paul's* Allegations out of Antiquity for ſuch Churches, *&c. But no Reply being yet made, that I know of to thoſe Exceptions, I ſhall endeavor to take off ſuch of them as may concern me.*

1. *I have endeavored to prove, that the Church of* Carthage *in* Cyprian's *Time, was Dioceſan; and among other things, urge for it the Multitude of Presbyters that belong'd to that Church, even in the time of Perſecution, when the greateſt part of the Clergy was fallen off. The Author abovementioned excepts againſt this, where it is alleadg'd by the Dean of* S. Paul's, *and offers two things in Anſwer;* 1. *A Paſſage out of Biſhop* Downham, That in-

indeed, at the firſt Converſions of Cities, the whole Number of the People converted (being ſometimes not much greater than the Number of Preſbyters plac'd among them) were able to make but a ſmall Congregation: *But this Allegation can be of little Uſe, becauſe,* 1. *This was not the Caſe of the Church of* Carthage, *it was not a new converted Church, but ſettled long before, and in a flouriſhing Condition.* 2. *Many more Preſbyters may be ordain'd in a City than is neceſſary for the firſt* Beginnings *of a Church, with reſpect to future Encreaſe; and for the Service of ſuch as afterwards ſhould believe: So that tho' there might be in a new gather'd Church, almoſt as many Presbyters as there are People, yet the Deſign of that number of Officers may be for ſeveral Congregations, when the* Believers *of that place ſhould become ſo numerous as not to be contain'd in one.* 3. *The Multitude of Presbyters belonging to one Congregational Church, might be occaſioned by the uncertain Abode of moſt of the Apoſtles and their Commiſſioners,*

ers, who are the Principal, if not the only Ordainers of Presbyters, mentioned in Scripture. Therefore they might ordain more than were just necessary for the present Occasions of a Church, because they could not be present to ordain, as often as the Increase of a Church, or Vacancies, or other Necessities of it should require. But *that any Church fix'd and settled, having its* Bishop *always present, should multiply Presbyters beyond Necessity, in the Circumstances of the* Primitive Christians *before* Constantine, *is altogether incredible: For the necessary Expences of the Church were very great; the Poor numerous; the generality of Christians not of the Richest; and the Estates they had being at the Discretion of their Enemies, and ruin'd with perpetual Persecution: Is it credible, that persons in this Condition would multiply Officers without Necessity, who were to be maintain'd out of the Public Stock; as* Cyprian *affirms the Presbyters of* Carthage *were? And lastly, if this Opinion of* Bishop Downham *had any certain Ground in Antiquity,*

we

We ſhould probably hear of it with both Ears: and we ſhould have it recommended upon Ancienter Authority than His: But the firſt which this Author cites is Nazianzen, *who complains of the Multitude of* Preſbyters *in his Time: This has been already alleadg'd by Mr.* Baxter, *and has received Anſwer; and he that cannot anſwer it to himſelf from the great difference between the Condition of the Church in* Cyprian, *and in* Nazianzen's *Time, has a fondneſs for the Argument beyond my Skill to remove.*

The next Inſtance of the number of Presbyters belonging to the great Church of C. P. *St.* Sophia, *the greateſt perhaps in the World, will do as little Service, as the complaint of* Nazianzen: Juſtinian (*ſays that Gentleman*) Obſerving that Officers in Churches were multiply'd beyond reaſon and meaſure, takes order that they ſhould be reduc'd to the numbers of the firſt Eſtabliſhment; but in the great Church at C. P. he would have the Preſbyters brought down to Sixty: *And what follows*

from this? That the Number of Presbyters was become extravagant in Justinian's *Time; but what is this to their Number in* Cyprian's*: For this very Edict of* Justinian *shews, that this multiplying of Church-Officers, was an Innovation, and therefore would have them reduc'd to the first Establishment; but that first Establishment it seems admitted great Numbers; for one Church had Sixty: True; but it must also be noted first, that these sixty were to serve more than one Church: For there were three more, besides St.* Sophia, *to be supply'd by those Presbyters, as may be seen in the Constitution,* Nov. 3. c. 1. viz. *St.* Mary's *Church, and that of* Theodorus *the Martyr, and that of* Helena, *as some, but of* Irene *as others read: Yet after all, there is no Argument to be drawn from this Number; for these were Canons of a particular Foundation, design'd for the Service of a Collegiate Church, and no measure to be taken from hence concerning the Numbers of Presbyters belonging to the Dioceſs. This is evident from the Preface of the said* Novel

vel, *whither I refer the Reader.*

But I must confess, that what this Gentleman adds concerning the Church of Constantinople *is something surprizing.* No doubt (*says he*) they (*the Presbyters*) were more numerous in *C. P.* in *Constantine's* Time, who endeavor'd to make that City in all things equal to *Rome*, and built two Churches in it; yet in the latter end of his Reign, after the Death of *Arrius*, the Christians there could all meet together for Worship: It is said expressly, that *Alexander*, Bishop of that Church, σωναξιν σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπετέλεσεν. *That* Constantine *built two Churches in* C. P. Sozomen *does not say but that he built* many and very great Churches there. πολλοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις κόσμησεν ἐυκτηρίοις οἴκοις: *after the same manner* Eusebius *says, that he* adorn'd the City that he called after his own Name, with many Churches, and great Temples, εὐκτηρίοις πλείοσιν ἐφαίδρυνε, μαρτυρίοις τε μεγίστοις. Some within the City, and in the Suburbs of it: *Nor can we imagine, that two Churches (much less one) could suffice all the Christians in*

Soz. l. 2. c. 2.

Soz. l. 2. c. 3. Ed. Vales. Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 48.

C.P. *when the City of* Heliopolis *being converted to Christianity requir'd more, and* Constantine *built several for them,*

Soc. l. 1. c. 18. ἐκκλησίας δὲ κτίσας, καὶ ἐπισκοπὸν χειροτονηθῆναι, παρασκεύασε, καὶ κλῆρον ἱερὸν, *i. e.* Having built several Churches, he ordered a Bishop; *but one for all those Churches and* Clergy to be ordain'd there. *Socrates indeed says, that* Constantine *built two Churches in* C. P. *and names them; but does not say, either that there were no more there in his Time, or that he built no more; but these being remarkable for the Magnificence of the Structure, are perhaps, upon that account, only mention'd by this Author: But we have shew'd already from other Writers, of as good, or better Credit, That this Emperor built there* very many, and very Great Churches. *Nor were these only for State and Ornament, but the Number of Believers in that City did require many* Churches *for their Assemblies: And the Passage of* Theodoret *above cited does not import the contrary: Therefore to clear this point, I will endeavor to shew the State of the Churh of* C. P. *about the latter*

later end of Conſtantine's *Reign*; *and how it was impoſſible for them to meet* All *in one place.* 2. *I will ſhew, that the words before cited do not conclude, that all the Believers of* C. P. *were aſſembled in one* Congregation *with* Alexander *their* Biſhop. 1. *As to the State of this* Church, *it could not but be very numerous, when we conſider what care the Emperor took to bring Inhabitants to it from all Parts, ſome from* Rome, *ſome from other Provinces; and it is more than probable, that much the greateſt part of thoſe that came to inhabit the firſt* Chriſtian *Emperor's Favorite* City, *were* Chriſtians. 2. *His care for rendering this* City *great and ſuitable to the Magnificence of ſo mighty a Prince, had that Succeſs, that it did not only equal Old* Rome, *but excell'd it as well in Greatneſs of its Wealth, as the Multitude of its Inhabitants*, ὡς καὶ τοῖς σωμάσι, καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι μείζονα συνόμηλογειαν, *ſays* Sozom. *And the ſame Author adds, that the Piety of the Emperor, and of the* Citizens, *and their* Charity *towards the Poor, was the reaſon of its mighty Increaſe, from* L. 2. c. 3.

the whence may be judg'd, what Religion the Generality of the City did profeſs. 3. *The Succeſs of that Charity did not only add, to the Number of the Citizens, but very conſiderably to the number of Chriſtians: For the ſame Author writes, that it had ſo good effect there.* ὡς πολλὲς μὲν ἰουδαίους, ἕλληνας δὲ σχέδον ἁπαντας αὐτόθι χριστιανίζειν, i.e. *That many of the Jews, and* almoſt all the Heathens *were converted and became Chriſtians.* 4. *The ſame Author, to make it altogether a Chriſtian City, writes farther, that it was never polluted with any Heathen Temples or Sacrifices, unleſs it were in the Time of* Julian *the Apoſtate.* 5. *The Proviſion which* Conſtantine *made for the Burial of the Dead, ſhews the number of the Church of* C. P. *to be far too great for one Congregation: For he alloted to that charitable Uſe no leſs than Nine Hundred and Fifty Shops, or Work-houſes, whoſe Profits were to be employed in burying the Poor decently; which Shops were to be free from all Tax and Duty to the Prince: As you may ſee by comparing theſe ſeveral places in the Body of the* Civil Law,

Law, *N.* 59. *with N.* 43. *and with N. L.* 12. *And* Honorius *in the Year* 409. *conſidering the Number of the* Decani, *the ſmall Officers that attended Funerals, to have grown inordinate, reduces them to Nine Hundred and Fifty, probably the firſt Eſtabliſhment of* Conſtantine the Great. *See* Juſtinian's Code, *l.* 1 *T.* 2, 4. *And if after all this, all the* Chriſtians *in* C. P. *could meet together in one* Church *towards the latter end of* Conſtantine's *Reign, we muſt conclude ſome wonderful Mortality to have happen'd, and that theſe* Decani *had had extraordinary Employment, and bury'd, in a manner, the whole* City: *But let them believe that can comprehend; For my part, I can as ſoon imagine, that* Homer, *with all his* Scholiaſts, *can be put into a Nut ſhell, or that a Witch can turn her ſelf in a Key-hole, as that all the* Chriſtians *in* C. P. *made but one* Congregation.

But notwithſtanding the Number of Chriſtians *in* C. P. *might be much too great for one* Congregation, *yet the major part might be* Hereticks, *or* Schiſmaticks, *ſuch as came not to the* Biſhops Church,

and therefore all *that adher'd to him, might be no more than could meet in one Assembly. To which I answer, towards the latter end of* Constantine's *Reign, it was so far from being the Case of the Church, that the number of Hereticks and Schismaticks was inconsiderable; and most of those were forc'd to come to Church; and that there may be no Difficulty remaining in this point, I will give some farther account of the number of the* Catholick *Christians in comparison with Hereticks and Schismaticks.*

Constantine the Great, *having set his Heart upon Christian Religion, to settle and adorn it, he thought nothing more effectual than the Unity and Concord of Christians; to promote which, he resolv'd to proceed against all Hereticks and Dissenters by a severe Law, and to reduce them to the Unity of the Church. The Doctrine of* Arrius, *tho it began to be favour'd in several pla-*
L. 2. c. 32. *ces, had not yet made a formal Seperation, says* Sozomen, ἔπω εἰς ἴδιον διεκέκριτο λαὸν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἅμα ἐκκλησίαζον καὶ ἐκοινώνουν, i. e. *All came to Church, and communicated together; but*

but the Novatians *and some old Hereticks.* Against these the Emperour made an Edict, whereby he took away their Churches, and ordered them to be joyn'd to the Churches of the Catholicks. — He told them, it was better for them to communicate with the Catholick Church, *and* advis'd them to come over to it. *The Success of this Law we find in the very same place; That by this means,* Τούτων τῶν αἱρεσεῶν τὴν πολλὴν ἀφανισθῆναι μνήμην. The memory of those Heresies *was in a manner extinguish'd; for they came all to Church for fear of that Law against their Conventicles.* Τῇ καθ' ὅλου ἐκκλεσίᾳ προσέθεντο: *And those that persisted in their Opinion, having no opportunity to Conventicle, nor to corrupt the minds of men, died at last, and left none to succeed them in their Opinions:* Only *the* Novatians *remain'd, who, says the Author, did not suffer much by this Edict, being befriended by the Emperor, who had an esteem for their Bishop of* C. P. *upon the account of his Holiness; and therefore his Church there was not much endammag'd, tho' the Historian* Ibid.

speaks

ſpeaks this very mincingly, and ſays only, that it was probable, that ſo it was; and likely had no other reaſon for it, than the Opinion which the Novatians *had of that Biſhop; and that their Church was not altogether extirpated then, like thoſe of other Hereticks: But he confeſſes, that every where elſe they ſuffer'd the ſame meaſure with others, unleſs it were in* Phrygia, *and ſome Bordering Provinces: And now to allow the* Novatians *a Conventicle in* Conſtantinople, *towards the later end of* Conſtantine's *Reign, which is more than* Sozomen *durſt affirm, yet I hope the Catholicks will be ſtill too numerous, to meet all of them in one Congregation.*

But Theodoret *affirms, they were no more than could meet in one Church, and that they did actually do ſo. I anſwer, That* Theodoret *does not ſay ſo, and that the Paſſage cited does not conclude it; therefore to clear this difficulty, let us examine it: After the Death of* Arrius, *ſays* Theodoret, *thoſe of* Euſebius's *Faction were much out of Countenance, and bury'd him;* L. 1. c. 14. *but on the other ſide,* Ἀλέξανδρος

καὶ·

χαιρέσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν σύναξιν ἐπετέλεσεν ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ὀρθοδυξίᾳ, σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς εὐχόμενος καὶ δοξάζων μεγάλως τὸν θεὸν, *which* Valesius *renders thus*: B. autem *Alexander* cum gaudio totius Ecclesiæ collectas celebravit piè, & orthodoxe, simul cum Universis fratribus Deum orans, & impense glorificans: *Now he takes the Phrase* σύναξιν ἐπετέλεσιν, *in a general Sence, which I suppose was spoken with respect to that particular Congregation in which* Arrius *was to have been reconciled, if he had lived but one Night longer; and that the Author intends only to say, that that Service was performed* χαιρέσης ἐκκλησίας, *with the Joy of that Church, which the Bishop apprehended would be the occasion of great Trouble to it; and that* with all the Brethren there present, *not all the Believers of* Constantinople *(for that he does not say) he pray'd to, and prais'd God for what had happened; unless you will say, that the* σὺν πᾶσιν ἀδελφοῖς, *does not signifie their Personal Presence, but only their Unanimity; as that of* David Ps. 33.3. μεγαλύνατε τὸν κύριον σὺν ἐμοὶ, καὶ ὑψώσαμεν

* ὁμοδυμαδὸν. Aquila.

σωμεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ. *To conclude this point then,* Theodoret *could not think that all the Believers of* C. P. *could come together to the Bishop's Church; for he cites a Letter of* Constantine *a little after this, where he gives an Account of the great Increase of that Church.* In the City that is call'd by my Name (*says he*) by the Providence of God, an infinite Multitude of People have joyn'd themselves to the Church; and all things there wonderfully increasing, it seems very requisite that more Churches should be built; understanding therefore hereby what I have resolv'd to do, I thought fit to order you to provide Fifty Bibles fairly and legibly written, *&c. which he signifies in the same place to be design'd for the Service of the Churches there. Now where Christians were so multiplied, that it was necessary to build more Churches, and to make such Provisions for the Multitude of their Assemblies, it could not be, that they should* all *make but one Congregation,*

c. 16.

It would swell this Preface to too great

great a Bulk, if I ſhould anſwer the reſt ſo particularly: Therefore I ſhall be more brief, but as plain as I can; p. 10, 11, 12. *This Author gives ſeveral Inſtances of ſeveral Biſhops being in one City at the ſame time, in Anſwer to the Dean of* Pauls, *who affirm'd,* That it was an inviolable Rule of the Church, to have but one. *I have endeavored to ſhew, that it was the* Rule *of the Church to have no more than one: So* Cornelius *affirms, that in a Catholick Church there ought to be no more; and the Council of* Nice *finds Expedients even againſt the ſhew and appearance of two Biſhops being together in one place.* Jeruſalem *is the firſt Inſtance, which is ſaid to have had ſeveral Biſhops together in the time of* Narciſſus. *I wonder to find a man of Learning cite this Paſſage, than which nothing can be more diſadvantageous to his Cauſe: For* 1. Narciſſus *having retired, and the* People not knowing what had become of him, *the Neighboring* Biſhops *ordain'd* Dius *in his place; who dying in a ſhort time, was ſucceeded by* Germanicio. *In his Time* Narciſſus *returns, and was deſir'd*

desir'd by the Church to resume his Office. What became of Germanicion *is not said, probably he resign'd, or died presently: For the next thing we find is, that* Narcissus, *being very old, an* Hundred and Sixteen *Years of age, took* Alexander *into a Participation of the Charge: He was indeed the Bishop, and* Narcissus *retain'd but the Title and Name only, as we may gather out of* Alexander's *Letter,* Νάρκισσος ὁ πρὸ ἐμοῦ διέπων τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐνθάδε καὶ νῦν συνεξεταζόμενος μοι διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν, *i. e.* Who was Bishop before me, and who now joyns with me in Prayers. *The Administration was, it seems wholly in the Hands of* Alexander: *For the Historian says of* Narcissus *before,* μεκεθ' οἰοῦτε ὄντος λειτουργεῖν διὰ λιπαρὸν γῆρας. *He was not able to officiate by reason of his great Age: And* Valesius *confirms this in his Notes upon the place.* Hoc enim sibi vult *Alexander, Narcissum* in Orationibus duntaxat, non in reliquo Episcopali munere sibi collegam fuisse, *and then,* Ex quibus apparet, *Alexandrum* non tam adjutorem quam Episcopum in locum *Nar-*

Euseb. l. 6. c. 11.

Narcissi, utpote jam decrepiti factum fuisse. *Narcissum* verò nudum nomen Episcopi, atque honorem retinuisse. *The next instance is of* Theotecnus *and* Anatolius, who were for some time Bishops of *Cæsarea* together: Anatolius *was a person of extraordinary Learning and Abilities, and* Theotecnus, designing to make him his Successor, *says the Historian*, ordained him Bishop in his Life time, *and as it were his* Coadjutor, *or* Episcopus designatus: *Afterwards* Macarius *and* Maximus *were Bishops at once in that Church: He means that of* Jerusalem, *tho' that of* Cæsarea *was the last he mention'd; and this Instance is of the same nature with the other: For* Sozomen *writes, that first of all* he was secretly design'd by the People, to succeed *Macarius* after his Death: *And to make sure of his Succession, with the Consent and Concurrence of their Bishop, they brought it about, that he should stay at* Jerusalem, *and assist* Macarins *in the Episcopal Office, and* μετὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *i. e.* After his Death to govern that Church, where-

Euseb. l. 7. c. 32.

Soz. l. 2. c. 20.

as

as *before he did only* συμπρεσβύς, i. e. *assist in the Divine Service and Offices of the Church.*

Epiphanius, *continues this Gent.* (alleadg'd by *Grotius* for this purpose) signifies that other Cities had two Bishops, and excepts but one, *Alexandaia* had never two Bishops, ὡς ἄλλαι πόλεις; His meaning cannot be (*as a great Antiquary would have it*) that *Alexandria* was never so divided, as that several parties in it should have their respective Bishops there; for so it was divided in the time of *Epiphanius*, when the Catholicks had *Athanasius*, the *Arrians* had *Gregorius*, and then *Georgius*, and afterwards the one had *Peter*, the other *Lucius*; and the *Novatians* had their Bishops successively in that City, till *Cyril*'s time. *To which I answer as briefly as I can.* 1. *That* Epiphanius *cannot mean that all other Cities* ~~had~~ *had two Bishops at a time: For the contrary is too notorious, and the Cases above alleadg'd are extraordinary, when the Bishop, or People of a City had a mind to secure the next Succession to some Extraordinary Per-*

Soc. l. 7. c. 7.

son;

ſon. He was made the Aſſiſtant and Coajutor of that Biſhop he was to ſucceed: If Alexandria *had never done this (and it might be the reaſon why* Athanaſius *was not ordained then when he was deſign'd by* Alexander) *I do not ſee what advantage can be made of this Paſſage; the practice of thoſe other Churches has been already conſidered: However I do not ſee why that* Learned Antiquary's *Opinion may not be maintain'd againſt this Gent's. Objections: He ſays, that* Alexandria *was divided before* Epiphanius *his Time, between ſeveral Biſhops: It cannot be denied; but that is not the thing* Epiphanius *ſpeaks of, but that before the Election of* Theonas *againſt* Athanaſius, *who was before appointed by* Alexander *with the Approbation of the Church, there were never two oppoſite Biſhops, as in other Churches: the Inſtances are all later than this Fact; and therefore are inſignificant: Unleſs it be that of the* Novatians. That they had their Biſhops ſucceſſively *to* Cyril's *Time:* Socrates *does not ſay in the place alleadg'd;* So: l. 7. c. 7.

but only that Cyril *had taken from him all that he had*; *and* Succeſſively *from what time had they their Biſhops there? That is not ſaid: It may be they began there after this time: For there is little account in Church-Hiſtory, that I know, of any* Novatians *in* Alexandria *before* Athanaſius.

The next Inſtance is pregnant, and compriſing many at once, *as the Gentleman tells us, it is that of* Valerius *and St.* Auguſtin, *who were Biſhops of* Hippo *together*; *and* the Biſhops of thoſe Parts aſſured *Auſtin*, that this was uſual, and prov'd it by Examples, both in the *Africane* and *Tranſmarine* Churches, *as* Poſſedonius *tells us*: *But ſuppoſe all this true, that this might be maintain'd by the Examples of ſeveral Churches*: *What is it? That two Biſhops may be in one Church? No, that is not the Matter*; *but that a Biſhop, when he grows Old, may appoint or ordain his Succeſſor, to prevent the Miſchiefs that are uſually produc'd by popular Elections, and to ſecure the Succeſſion to ſome Extraordinary Man*; *and this was not thought*

to

to violate that Rule that allow'd but one Biſhop to a City: For this Proviſion for a Succeſſor does not deſtroy that Rule. For Inſtance, I believe no man will deny, but that this Government is Monarchical in its Conſtitution; and that it ought to be in the hands of a Single Perſon; or if Royaliſts word be not Authority enough, the Worthy Gentlemen that would have convinc'd Cromwell's *Conſcience about it, I hope will ſatisfie: And yet, after that this Succeſſion had been a little interrupted by the Uſurpation of King* Stephen, Henry *the Second thought it convenient to make his Eldeſt Son King in his Life Time, and to have him Crowned to ſecure the Succeſſion: Yet for all this, and tho ſome more Inſtances may be fetch'd of the ſame Nature, from neighboring Kingdoms, yet I belive it will be true enough, that it is the Rule of theſe ſeveral Kingdoms to have but one King. And this, as far as I am able to perceive, is the utmoſt that can be made of all thoſe Inſtances of two Biſhops in one Church. As for the laſt Reaſon of the Rule about dividing the*

Revenue, I ſuppoſe it is added only out of Gayety, and might have been left to Mr. Baxter, *who is us'd to ſupply his Want of Learning with a double Portion of Spight. But I have too much reſpect for this Perſon (who ſhews more Learning than any of the Advocates for Diſſenters) to make any Reflection upon it.*

This Rule *is likewiſe* pag. 15. *oppugn'd by Exceptions from the* Conference *at* Carthage; *but of this I have ſpoke ſo particlarly in the following Book, that I think it unnceſſary to add any more.*

The next thing I find concerns any thing alleadg'd by me is p. 23. *where the Biſhoprick of* Hippo *is conſider'd. I have ſhew'd the Names of a good number of Pariſhes in it, which were under the Care of their Presbyters, and among others alleadg'd the* Town *of* Fuſſala; *the Gentleman Tranſlates it a* Caſtle, *I ſuppoſe to diminiſh it; but theſe Caſtles were Garriſon-Towns, with a good dependance of Villages belonging to them; and this particularly is ſo repreſented. It was Forty miles from*

from Hippo, *and was in St.* Auſtin's Dioceſs, *and never had a Biſhop of its own. This the Gentleman anſwers, by ſaying,* That the reaſon why it had a Biſhop no ſooner, is ſignify'd by St. *Auguſtin,* when he ſaith there were no Catholicks at all in it: *St* Auguſtin *ſays indeed, the Town or Caſtle it ſelf had none, but the County belonging to it had ſome:* Paucos habebat illa Terra Catholicos: *And there were ſeveral Presbyters belonging to thoſe Catholicks,* Preſbyteri qui eis Congregandis à nobis primitùs ſunt Conſtituti: *But I believe the reaſon alleadg'd for their having a Biſhop no ſooner will hardly hold: For firſt, St.* Auſtin *ſays, that this Town, when he ſet upon the Reduction of it, to the Unity of the Church, had* then *no Catholicks; but that it never had any he does not ſay; nor is the thing probable: But as for a* Biſhop, *he expreſly ſays, that it never had any; but that it formerly had Catholicks, we may conclude by* Mr. Baxter's *reaſoning, becauſe it belong'd heretofore to the Dioceſs of* Hippo. Simul cum

contigua ſibi regione ad parœciam Hipponenſis Eccleſiæ pertinuit. *Now Mr.* B. *would ask what did belong to the Biſhop of* Hippo, *the Stones or the Timber of the Town, ſince none of the People did ever own him: Nor can it be imagin'd how a Town ſo diſtant ſhould be judg'd to belong to that Dioceſe, where yet there never was one Man that own'd the Juriſdiction: So that I conceive this reaſon will not hold for its having no Biſhop of its own, ſince the ſame reaſon deſtroys its dependance upon the Dioceſe of* Hippo, *which is expreſly affirm'd. As to St.* Auſtin's *Excuſe, that it was too far, and that he could not look after the inconſiderable Reliques of the* Donatiſts *there: It is to be aſcrib'd to his Modeſty, ſince he diſcharg'd the Office of a Biſhop towards it in much more difficult Times, while the Preſbyters he employ'd were barbarouſly uſed, and the generality of the People were againſt him.*

The Towns in St. Auſtin's *Dioceſe, mention'd by the* D. *of St.* Pauls, *this* Gentleman *finds to have had Biſhops*

of

of their own or ſome other Towns that had Names like them, which yet may not be the ſame; but here I am unconcern'd, having, as I remember, mention'd none of theſe places, but divers others: But I cannot paſs by what he offers p. 26. *That St.* Auſtin *had only* Epiſcopalem Sarcinam Hipponenſem, *the* Epiſcopal Charge of *Hippo, as if he had been Biſhop of the Town only: Nay, but of part of that neither: For the* Donatiſts *had their Biſhop there too. This will ſtrangely diminiſh the Biſhoprick of St.* Auſtin, *which at firſt appear'd ſo large. To which I anſwer, That for the* Donatiſts *having a Biſhop there it ſignifies little to our preſent purpoſe, ſince he was but an Uſurper, and the whole Dioceſs did of right belong to the Catholick* Biſhop: *As to the Inſinuation, that St.* Auſtin *was only Biſhop of the Town let us believe himſelf*: Hoc Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, aut ut modum diſpenſationis meæ non ſupergrediar, hoc Eccleſiæ ad *Hipponenſium* Regionem pertinenti prodeſſe con- Ep. 159.

teſtor: *Which plainly ſignifies, that all the Church, belonging not only to the* Town, *but alſo to the* Region *of* Hippo, *belong'd to him. There is but one thing more which I ſhall obſerve concerning the Diocеſs of* Hippo; *and that is a Paſſage cited out of St.* Auſtin, *to ſhew, that there were many Biſhops in that* Region.

Ep. 68. Ecce interim Epiſcopos noſtros qui ſunt in Regione *Hipponenſi*, ubi a veſtris tanta mala patimur convenire. *To which I anſwer, that theſe* Biſhops, *who are ſaid to be* in Regione *Hipponenſi, were not the* Biſhops *of that Region, but ſome* Biſhops *of the Province met together there; as had been done before upon the like Occaſion, as may be ſeen in the ſame Epiſtle,* Facto Concilio placuit ut convenirentmini. 2, *It appears from the Inſcription and Stile of this Epiſtle,* Clerici Catholici Regionis *Hipponenſium; and yet ſpeaking of the Biſhop of* Hippo, *they call him their* Biſhop, *not one of their* Biſhops, *which they muſt have ſaid*

ſaid if they had had more; *but* Conventus ab Epiſcopo noſtro Proculeianus, ——non eſt Conqueſtus Epiſcopus noſter, &c. *So that notwithſtanding theſe Biſhops mention'd in the Region of* Hippo, *the Body of that Clergy own but one who was properly their Dioceſan: And this is farther clear'd by comparing this paſſage with that of St.* Auſtin, *mentioned a little before, where he aſſumes to himſelf the Church belonging to the* Regio Hipponenſium.

From the Dioceſs of Hippo, *we paſs to that of* Alexandria, *of which I have ſpoke particularly enough before*; *but here the ſame Author offers a great many things*, p. 32. *which I cannot anſwer at this time very particularly*; *yet ſomething I ſhall ſay as briefly as I can. The Inſtance of* Maræotis, *he ſays little to*; *he inſinuates as if* Maræotis *might not have Number enough of Chriſtians to have a Biſhop. But this* Athanaſius *does ſufficiently ſhew to be a Groundleſs Conjecture*; *and even before*

fore Athanaſius, *the Generality of the People there were Chriſtians. He farther finds one* Dracontius *made a Biſhop in the Territory of* Alexandria; *poſſibly a* Chorepiſcopus, *or at leaſt-wiſe, it is manifeſt from the Epiſtle to him, that it was the extraordinary Favor of the People towards him, that compell'd him to accept a Biſhoprick: And the Danger of their falling to* Arrianiſm *was the reaſon which* Athanaſius *makes uſe of to preſs him to accept it. This was an extraordinary Caſe, and allowing this man a Country Biſhoprick, that of* Alexandria *would be a great deal to big for the Congregational Meaſure. After this we have Inſtances of ſeveral Cities that had Biſhops, and lay very near one the other; and what does this conclude? Might not theſe Dioceſes be yet much larger than one Congregation? Suppoſe the Chief Cities of* Holland *had each a Biſhop, yet I conceive they would be Dioceſans, though thoſe Cities lie very cloſe together. And now after all this,*

this, though we have several Instances out of Egypt, *how near Cities were together in some parts; yet upon the whole account, the Dioceses do appear to be large enough from the Number of them: For in* Athanasius *his Time, there were not a Hundred Bishops in all* Egypt, Libia, *and* Pentapolis.

ἐπίσκοποι εἶσιν ἐν αἰγύπτῳ καὶ λιβύῃ καὶ πέντα πόλει ἔγγυς ἕκατον. Ath. Ap. 2.

The next thing I shall take notice of, is the Defence of Mr. Baxter's *Allegation out of* Athanasius, *to shew, that all the Christians of* Alexandria *could meet in one Church. It is to be confess'd, that the Expressions of that Father do seem to favor him,* κἀκεῖ πάντας ἐιχεσθαι, *and that the Church did* πάντας δέξασθαι, *hold* all, *&c. Now suppose that all the Christians in* Alexandria, *the Catholicks at least-wise, could meet together in that Great Church, yet all the Diocess could not; there were some parts of it at a good Distance, and they could not conveniently come;*

so

ſo that the Dioceſs of Alexandria, *will exceed the meaſure of the Congregational Way.* 2. *Suppoſe this Great Church could receive all the Multitude, yet if that Multitude was too great for Perſonal Communion, it is inſignificant: For if that be a Congregational Church that can poſſibly meet between the ſame Walls, this Congregational Church will be as indefinite as a Dioceſs.* 3. *Before this the Church of* Alexandria *met in diſtinct Congregations,* τὸ πρώτερον ἐν διηρημέναις συναγερχόμενοι τόποις: *But we are told, that theſe places were very* ſmall, ſhort, and ſtreight places: *So I ſuppoſe they were in reſpect of the Multitude of Chriſtians which they did ſcarcely receive. But that they were ſuch* Chappels *or* Churches *as ſome of our Pariſhes in* England *have as great a number as* Alexandria, *is hardly credible; becauſe,*

1. *The Church of* Alexandria *was very numerous from the beginning; and if they met all in one place, it muſt conſequently be very large: Nor is*

is it likely they ſhould divide till they were grown too numerous for the biggeſt Meeting-place they could conveniently have .

2. *Tho' before the Empire was converted they might be confin'd to little places, and forc'd to meet ſeverally, yet after* Conſtantine *became Chriſtian, it is not likely that the* Alexandrians *would content themſelves with* ſmall and ſtreight Chappels, *when every ordinary City built very Great and Magnificent Cathedrals*; *And,*

3. *Some of theſe Churches had been built with a Deſign of receiving as many as well could have Perſonal Communion in Worſhip together*; *as* Theonas *is ſaid by* Athanaſius, *to have built a Church bigger than any of thoſe they had before: And yet this and all the reſt were but few, and ſtreight, in compariſon of the great Multitude of Catholicks that were in* Alexandria.

But I conceive after all this, that the Expreſſions of Athanaſius *do not conclude, that all the Chriſtians in* Alexandria *were met in that Great Church:*

Church: All that came, it may be found Room; but that all did come is not eaſily imagin'd: For the Tumultuous manner in which they come to their Biſhop, *to demand a* General *Aſſembly, makes it probable, that not only Women and Children would be glad to abſent themſelves, but many more, either apprehenſive of the Effect of this Tumultuous Proceeding, or of the danger of ſuch a Crowd, would willingly ſtay away.* Mr. Baxter, *tho' he thought the main* Body *of the* Catholicks *might meet here, yet he would not conclude that all did; and even theſe that did aſſemble here, were too many for one Congregation; and was an Aſſembly more for ſolemnity and oſtentation, than for Perſonal Communion in Worſhip, and the proper Ends of a Religious Aſſembly.*

But *that we may not wonder how the* Catholicks *ſhould be ſo few in* Athanaſius *his Time, we are told farther, that the* Arrians, *and other Diſſenters might make much the* Major *part:* Nay, it may be the *Arrians* alone were more

more numerous. *How true this is, we may learn from* Athanasius, *who speaking of the Catholick Party, makes them the* Major *part of the* Alexandrians, οἱ λαοὶ πάντας μὲν τὴν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ πλεῖστον τῆς πόλεως μετ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω πλέον: *All these were Catholicks, and their business was to desire* Sirianus *and* Maximus *not to disturb their Churches, till they might send to the Emperor. And that they were the greatest part, might be yet farther clear'd from several Circumstances of that time, which I cannot insist upon in this place, without being too tedious to the Reader. To conclude this, not only* Alexandria, *and the other Cities of* Egypt *had several Congregations compriz'd in the same Dioceſs, but the* Meletians *had some Bishops of several Titles who had more Cities than one in their Dioceſſes, as may be seen in the Catalogue of Bishops ordain'd by* Meletius, *and given in to the Bishop of* Alexandria.

The last thing I shall take notice of, is the Dioceſe of Theodoret. *This indeed I just mention'd and remitted, the Reader to the* D. *of* Pauls, *who had*

had ſpoke very particularly of it: I ſhall therefore ſay very little to it here, being unwilling to do any prejudice to ſo good a Cauſe, *and ſo great a Perſon, by a weak and unneceſſary Defence:* But *this I cannot omit, that if thoſe* 800, *not* 80 Churches, *as this Gentleman reckons them, belong'd to him as Metropolitan, and they were all Epiſcopal, this poor* Region *of* Cyrus *would have more* Biſhops *than all* Africk, *notwithſtanding they were more numerous there, than in any part of the World beſides.*

I have no more to add, but that there was deſign'd a Chapter *concerning the Right of electing Biſhops and* Church-Officers, *with an Hiſtorical Deduction of the Practice of the Church, through the ſeveral Ages of it; but becauſe it could not anſwer the Deſign firſt form'd without ſwelling this Book to too great a Bulk: It may hereafter in due time be publiſh'd by it ſelf: The Subject affording Variety enough for a large Treatiſe, and requiring ſome Time and Diligence to do it to any Effect.*

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ERRATA.

THe Faults that have escapedare almost infinite; I have noted some of the most gross. Page 5. for *the* effect, read *this*. p. 10. for *judicially*, r. *judiciously* p. 11. for *concident*, r. *coincident*. p. 5. for the right, r. their. p. 18. for and so many, r. over p. 21. for or Elders, r. over. p 23. there is a whole passage so mangl'd, that it requires some trouble to restore it. What refers to the Council of *Calchedon*, cited in the Margin, *That* is left out, *viz.* that at that time they reckon'd 27 Bishops of *Ephesus* from *Timothy*, that *Polycrates* reckon'd himself the 8. (not the 6.) Bishop of that Church; for so many understand the passage of his Epistle, tho' that does not necessarily follow from the words cited by *Eusebius*. p. 27. for positure law, r. positive. ibid. the residence, r. their. p. 29. as they, &c. d. as. p. 36. ἀξιοπλόκης. ibid. for our Presbyters, r. your, ibid. for alledging, r. alluding. 16. for Capital, r. Capitol. p. 39. in the Margin, r. *coinus in cætum*. p. 41. for the generality of Christians, r. many Christians. p. 57. for made, r. many Congregational, *&c.* p. 61. for before our Saviour was born, correct before his Passion. p. 63. r. *Pantenus Heraclas*. p. 68. for shine, r. thinne. p. 69. r. that he should be. p. 81. for is dangerous, r. as. p. 113. for *Constantin's* time, r. *Constantius*. p, 126. for a dozen times, r. lines. p. 136. for to *Meletius*, r. to *Paulinus*. p. 143. for *possum*, r. *portum*. p. 319. for Observations, r. Obsecrations. p. 332. for not an Heretick, r. Arch-Heretick. 16. Arch Heresie, d. Arch. There are very many false pointings, which the Reader may correct; as *Isidor*, *Pelus*, *Evagrius*, *Pontius*, &c. where the Comma's are to be blotted out; and several other wrong punctations, that render the sence sometimes difficult; but with a little observation, the understanding Reader may restore them.

CHAP. I.

Of the Design of Mr. Baxter's *Church History, and his Notion of Primitive congregational Episcopacy.*

THERE is nothing so fatal to Christian Religion, as our unhappy Dissentions about it, especially such as divide the Church into Parties, abhorring each others Communion: for besides that, the very Disagreement between men of the same Profession, brings the whole Doctrine under suspition of Falshood or Uncertainty; the Method that the Parties contending, commonly make use of to set up themselves, by the Disparagement and Reproach of the contrary side, serves to bring them and their Religion into the lowest Contempt: and the Result of all is, that the common Enemy is made Judge between them, who fairly sums up the Evidence, and passes Sentence upon all sides, according to their mutual Accusation.

This sad Truth is but too much confirmed, by the experience of our times, wherein there are few so happily removed from the noise of profane Conversation, as not frequently to hear the scurrilous Blasphemies of the Atheist, under pretence of running down the several Factions in Religion; 'tis this gives them Shel-

ter and Protection, and while they pretend to expoſe this or that Party, they have the Opportunity, with little change of Company, to mock all Religion by parcels, and that with the great good likeing and approbation of Chriſtians themſelves.

This is no ſuch News, but that moſt men ſeem to be ſenſible of it, and bewail the thriving of Prophaneneſs, by the Countenance that it receives from our Differences; yet for all this, how few abate any thing of their Fierceneſs? How few will be ſo moderate as to ſacrifice even the moſt diſingenious Arts of *Contention*, *Calumny*, and *Railing*, to the Safety and Honour of our common Faith.

I wiſh Mr. *B.* had had this Conſideration before him when he ſet upon the writing of his *Church Hiſtory of Biſhops, and their Councils abridged*, he has indeed ſufficiently *abridg'd* all the good Services that Biſhops and Councils have done to the Church, but their Miſcarriages he has enlarg'd upon to purpoſe, and ſometimes, by a foul Juggle, conveyed the beſt of their Actions into the Catalogue of their Crimes, and their greateſt Services for Religion, prove a conſiderable part of their Endictment. I muſt confeſs, I never ſaw any thing that in my Judgment reflected with more diſhonour upon Religion, than this ſtrange account that he has given of the progreſs of it, and the frightful Repreſentation that he has made of the Church in all Ages; Heathens have been civil and modeſt in their Character of us, compar'd with this. *Ammianus Marcellinus*

l. 27.

cellinus, though he be ſomething ſharp upon *Damaſus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, yet ſpeaks honourably of the generality of Chriſtian Biſhops; *Zoſimus* does not mention *Chryſoſtom* with any diſreſpect, though he had a fair occaſion; nay the ſcurril Wit of that Buffoon *Lucian*, nor the Malice of *Julian* the Apoſtate, have left nothing half ſo ſcandalous in all their Libels againſt Chriſtians, as this Church Hiſtorian has raked up; for here is nothing to be ſeen in his Book, but the Avarice, Ambition, Ignorance, Miſtakes, and furious Contentions of the Biſhops, and the Governours of the Church. And they being ſo bad, the People that were guided by their Order and Example, could not be much better, they were but the Inſtruments of the Epiſcopal Ambition, to fight their Quarrels, to kill all that oppoſed, and to burn and deſtroy all that came before them; turbulent, ſeditious, Incendiaries and Murderers; and what can be the effect of ſuch an Hiſtory, but that men ſhould believe there never was any ſort of People ſo deſperately wicked, and ſo great diſturbers of the World: the Enemy of our Religion will have reaſon to rejoyce, that his work is in great meaſure done to his hands, for this will ſerve him as a common place book, for railing againſt Chriſtianity, and the Chriſtian Reader will be in danger, either of looſing all his Patience, or a great deal of that Reverence he had for his Religion, and thoſe primitive Worthies that profeſt and defended it. *l.* 5. *c.* 23.

But this perhaps will be thought not to concern the Church, but the Biſhops only, who are charged with theſe Miſdemeanours, and diſhonour'd by this Repreſentation. He muſt have a ſtrange notion of the Church, that can think it unconcerned in the diſhonour of thoſe by whom it is governed: for if one ſhould write a Book, and call it the Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Nation, which ſhould only repreſent the Vices of our Kings, the Contentions and Diſagreements of our Parliaments, the Weakneſs and Corruption of our Miniſters of State and Juſtice, and repreſent all perſons that were eminent enough to hold any place in Story, under mean and infamous Characters; he muſt needs have a very metaphyſical Moderation, that could think the honour of the Nation unconcerned, and that it was no Reflection upon the *Engliſh* name.

God forbid I ſhould charge the Deſign of the Author with any diſſervice to Religion; but well-meaning men do ſometimes purſue their Reſentments too far, and ſo they can be revenged of their Enemies, purſue them into the Church, and ſet upon them in the Sanctuary, not conſidering how much it is violated and profaned by the Action. But Mr. *B.* is not inſenſible of the evil uſe that may be made of this book, and therefore endeavours to prevent it by wholſome Caution, and frequently in his Hiſtory ſtarting like a man affrighted to ſee that which he thought to have been a Rod turn'd into a Serpent, ſtreight applies what Remedies he can againſt the Poyſon: he

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does in the first place warn the Reader, that he do not abuse this into *Diabolisme*. But alas it is a poor Relief, to forbid an Enemy to make use of those Weapons you have put into his hands, to leave the Honour of our Religion at his Mercy, and then to desire him to be generous, not to make use of his Advantage. However, if the Scorner should prove perverse and take no Warning, Mr. *B.* proceeds to confute his reasoning, and his Inference, by saying that this scandalous account of the Bishops and their Councils, concludes nothing to the discredit of Church or Religion; for there were many good men that were not Bishops but Presbyters, Monks, or Lay-men; nay, many Hereticks; obscure good men, whose Vertues do not shine in Story; nay, there were some good men among the Bishops themselves, with more to the effect. God forbid I should endeavour to invalidate the least shadow of reasoning, that is urg'd in defence of the Church of Christ; I joyn heartily with him in this part, and I must profess, it is the greatest end of this Treatise, to prevent the Contempt of Religion, which this Church History might occasion. Nor can I think the Author will be offended, that I take his part and Religions against his own Book, and that I look upon it as a dangerous piece, when he himself has given such frequent and solemn Warnings against it. p. 16. 17. &c. p. 15. 19. & 49. 22. &c.

But I must take leave to pursue this point upon another Supposition than he does, for he takes all his History to be a true and just representa-

tation of things, and upon that ſuppoſal, makes his Vindication of the Church, which I hope is a miſtake in him, and will endeavour to ſhew, is very far from being true; nay on the contrary, it is the moſt injurious Character and the moſt unſuitable to the perſons it is faſtned upon, that can be imagined: this I take the greater Confidence to do, becauſe I am perſuaded, Mr. *B.* would be very glad this diſhonourable Character, even of Biſhops, ſhould be found a Miſtake, rather than it ſhould be true, to the Diſparagement of the Chriſtian Name.

It is true, that in the Weſtern Church, the generality of the Clergy, as well as Laity, were ſo grievouſly corrupted, as well in Doctrine as Diſcipline, in ſome of the Ages that were more removed from our Saviour, that we muſt make uſe of God's Vindication of the Church of *Iſrael* to *Elijah*, to excuſe it from a total Defection; but for the firſt four or five hundred years (thanks be to God) there is no need of that refuge: for the generality of the Chriſtians of thoſe times, and the Biſhops more eminently, were men of that Holineſs and Integrity, as reconciled the moſt obſtinate Prejudices againſt their Religion: men of ſo exact and punctual a Juſtice, of ſo frank and unſtinted a Charity, of ſo ſevere a Temperance, of ſo grave and weigh'd Converſation, that their Memory does ſtill command an univerſal Veneration, and their Examples remain a reproach to the degeneracy of after Ages. What ſort of men did the World know, that were

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greater Undervaluers of it? Upon whom did the Temptations of Wealth, or Honour, or Pleaſure, prevail leſs? What Society of men was ever united by ſo powerful Bands of Friendſhip and Affection? No Religion had ever ſo conſtant and faithful Adherers, whom no Danger, no Loſs, no Death could fright from the Acknowledgment of the *Truth, which is after Godlineſs, in hope of eternal Life.* And all this owing next to the Grace of God, and the Precepts of ſo holy a Religion, to the Guidance and Example of the Biſhops. It was by their Miniſtry, that Churches were multiplyed, and the Kingdom of Chriſt enlarged: by their Care, that they were preſerved in Peace and Unanimity. Theſe were the great Champions for Religion, that maintainld the Purity of the Faith againſt *Paul* of *Samoſata*, *Arrius*, *Eunomius*, *Photinus*, *Macedonius*, *Pelagius*, *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches*, and innumerable other peſtilent Hereticks, and Overthrowers of the Foundation of our Religion. But with all this, they were men, ſubject to the ſame Paſſions and Miſtakes with us, and if ſome among them were evil men, and the beſt of them had his Failings, it is not to be wondered at, much leſs to be aggravated, to the Diſparagement of the Order. They were generally, men of ſevere Lives, and that naturally ſharpens the Temper, and renders it more rigid and uncomplying; they had an extraordinary Zeal for Religion, and that oftentimes made them take Alarme, when it was not in any extream danger; and if their Knowledge and Diſcretion were not always

proportionable to their Zeal, ſurely among Chriſtians it might be allowed to the Frailty of Humane Nature, and the Sincerity of a good meaning; If they differ'd ſometimes among themſelves, and were warmer than is fit in their Diſputes; conſider that the Apoſtles themſelves had their Miſunderſtandings, and their Contentions; ſometimes *Peter* was to be blamed, and *Barnabas* was carried away. The Churches founded by the Apoſtles, were immediately divided about Opinions, which were preſently determined in Council; and yet we do not find that the Controverſie was at an end. Should any one therefore ſo *abridge the Hiſtory* of the Apoſtles, as to repreſent nothing of them, but their unhappy Contention, and leave them under the odious Characters of Diſturbers of the World, and Dividers of the Church? would it not juſtly paſs for a Libel againſt Chriſtianity? It were diſingenious and baſe, even in an Enemy, in a Chriſtian I know not how to call it.

Having paid this duty to the honour of Religion by a general Vindication of it from ſuch Conſequences as might be drawn from this Church Hiſtory againſt the Intention of the Author, I come now to his deſign, which is laid down, page 27. *To ſhew the Ignorant ſo much of the matter of Fact, as may tell them who have been the Cauſe of all Church-Corruption, Hereſies, Schiſms, Seditions, &c. And whether ſuch Proceſſion, Prelacies and Grandure, be the Cure, or ever was.*] But ſurely, this is not the way of cureing Church-diviſions thus to exaſperate. The'e Reproaches cannot ſerve to heal, but to fret

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and inflame the Wound; I have ſome hopes that I ſhall be able to ſhew the Reader ſo much of the matter of Fact too, as may let him ſee how much he has been impoſed on by this Hiſtory, and that all Corruptions and Schiſms, are very injuriouſly, and againſt all Truth of Hiſtory, charg'd upon the Biſhops. Yet ſuppoſe the Charge be true, is it ſuch a Wonder, that men of great Talents and great Authority do ſometimes abuſe them, and by that means become the Cauſe of Church-Corruptions? Private men though neither better nor wiſer than the Biſhops, have not the Opportunity of doing ſo much either Good or Hurt, and their Miſtakes or Vices do not draw after them ſo great Conſequences. This Accuſation though it may ſerve to render Biſhops odious, is yet of uſe to prove their Authority, and their ancient poſſeſſion of the right of governing the Church; like his who would prove, that they have troubled the World ever ſince the Apoſtles time. If the abuſe of this Power be ſufficient reaſon to take it away, or to render it odious, what will become of preaching, and writing Books? What will become of Scripture and Conſcience? Let him ſtill exclaim, the Biſhops have been the Authors of all Corruption and Schiſm, were they not Chriſtians and Men as well as Biſhops? and if a Heathen or a Jew ſhould not lay ſuch a Streſs upon the name of Biſhop, but put that of a Chriſtian in it's place, and then make a great Outcry, wicked Chriſtians! turbulent Chriſtians! would not this reaſoning hold as well as Mr. B's? or if ſome

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of the graver Beaſts ſhould recover the Converſation they had in *Æſop*'s days, and talk judicially, might not they bray aloud, Horrible men! Abominable men! that will never agree or underſtand one another, and then conclude with the Aſs in the Satyr.

Ma foy non plus que nous l'home n'eſt qu'une bête.

Be the Biſhops, whoſe Hiſtory Mr. *B.* writes, as bad as he will have them, how will this concern the reſt of that order, unleſs they will follow their Examples, and own their Corruptions: *Machiavel* was of Opinion, that the greateſt part of men were Rogues and Knaves, but what is that to You and I? let every man bear his own Burden.

But Mr. *B.* is reſolved to cut off this Retreat, and to level his Charge, not ſo much againſt the Perſons as the office of Biſhops, and to this effect, he explains himſelf, p. 22. *There is an Epiſcopacy whoſe very Conſtitution is a Crime; and there is another that ſeems to me, a thing convenient, lawful, and indifferent, and there is a ſort which I cannot deny to be of divine Right.*]

Here we have three ſorts of Biſhops, and this is pretty reaſonable and compendious, but in another Book which he refers to in this, he gives no leſs than twelve; dividing was much in Faſhion at that time, though commonly it was without a difference: and as they could make a ſort of Seekers, that neither ſought nor found, ſo he gives ſeveral ſorts of Biſhops that were no more ſo than he or I; nay, in this

Diſput. of Ch. Government p. 14.

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Abridgment of the great Diviſion, I believe the Members will be concident, and that it is but a little artificial Illuſion of Mr. *B.* that makes them appear ſeveral; take away the little corner'd glaſs, and that great multitude of pieces we ſaw, are in a moment reduced to one poor Six-pence, well, let us ſee then, what this criminal ſort of Epiſcopacy is, and what Mr. *B.* has to lay to it's Charge.

That Epiſcopacy which I take in it ſelf to be a Crime, is ſuch as is afore-mentioned, which in it's very Conſtitution, overthrows the Office, Church and Diſcipline, which Chriſt, by himſelf and his Spirit in his Apoſtles, inſtituted:] this is criminal indeed and a thouſand Pities it ſhould ſtand one Moment. p. 22.

But where ſhall we find this Abomination? it is not far of, if his Judgment may be taken; for, *Such ſays he, I take to be that Dioceſan kind, which has only one Biſhop over many Score or Hundred fixt parochial Aſſemblies.* Is this then their Crime, that they have many fixt parochial Aſſemblies under their Government? Had not the Apoſtles? Had not the Evangeliſts ſo too? And was that Conſtitution criminal? Had not the Biſhops of St. *Jerom*'s Notion ſeveral fixt Aſſemblies? That Father did indeed maintain that the poor Biſhop of *Eugubium* was as much a Biſhop, as he of *Rome*; but he little thought that he was more ſo, or that the Extent of the *Roman* Dioceſs had chang'd the very Species of it's Church Government: he thought they were both of the ſame ſort, and that the ſingle and ſmall Congregation of the one, and the ibid. *Hieron. Ep. ad Evagr.*

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numerous Aſſembly under the Inſpection of the other, had made no difference at all in the nature or conſtitution of their Epiſcopacy; he communicated with, and ſubmitted himſelf in Queſtions of the higheſt moment to the Biſhop of *Rome*: which, conſidering the Temper of the man, and his Contempt of the World, he would hardly have done, if he had judged him an Uſurper, but would rather have joyned himſelf to the poor Biſhop of *Eugubium*, and done all poſſible Countenance to that Primitive and Apoſtolick Conſtitution of Epiſcopacy.

Vid Hier. *Ep. ad* Damas.

But let St. *Jerom* think as he pleaſes, Mr. *B.* is of another Opinion, and now let us conſider his Reaſons.

P. 22. § 55. *By this means* (ſays he) *parochial Aſſemblies are made by them* (the Biſhops) *no Churches, as having no ruling Paſtors, that have the Power of judging, who to baptize or admit to Communion or Refuſe, but only of Chappels, having Preaching Curates.*] But muſt every Pariſh be an independent Church, and exerciſe all Authority and Juriſdiction within it's ſelf? May not ſeveral Pariſhes aſſociate under the Diſcipline of the ſame Biſhop, but that they muſt be unchurch'd? If it be no Church that has no Biſhop, what will become of all Presbyterian Churches, that are ſubject to Claſſes? do not they unchurch Pariſhes as well as Biſhops? But they are made *no Churches for want of governing Paſtors*; this is a great Miſtake, every Pariſh with us has a governing Paſtor, but it is in Subordination to the Biſhop, and with Exception to ſome Acts that concern the general Union of all the Pa-

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riſhes aſſociated. Is he no Governour, becauſe he is not Independent? Is he no Officer that is ſubordinate? At this rate, every Conſtable ſhould be a King, and every Captain a General.

But *our Paſtors* Mr. *B.* ſays, *have not the Power of judging whom to Baptize*,] this is a Calumny that has not the leaſt Shadow of Truth, and the contrary is notorious: That they have no power to admit to Communion or Refuſe, is not true; they have Power to admit any one that is not excommunicated, or naturally incapable; and they may likewiſe refuſe the Communion to ſuch as they judge notoriouſly unfit, but muſt afterwards approve their reaſons to the Biſhop. Several have uſed their Liberty and Diſcretion in this point, without Offence; however, it is but fit, that ſince the peace of the Church does greatly depend upon the right Application of Church-cenſures, there ſhould be a Reſtraint laid upon ordinary Miniſters in this particular; yet there is no Church-cenſure can have any effect, without the Conſent of the Miniſter of that Pariſh where he lives, againſt whom it is directed: The Miniſters Refuſal indeed may expoſe him to great Inconveniences, and it is but juſt, when his Refuſal is only the effect of Oppoſition, yet he has time and opportunity to produce his Reaſons; and why ſhould he deſpair in a juſt Canſe of convincing his Ordinary? However, though the Power of Church-cenſures be not allowed Pariſh Presbyters under Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, it is no Diminution of the right; for neither un-

under the Apoſtles, nor the Primitive Biſhops, did they ever exerciſe it as principals or independent.

p. 22. 2. Mr. *B*'s ſecond Reaſon againſt Dioceſan Epiſcopacy is, *That all the firſt Order of Biſhops in ſingle Churches is depos'd, as if the Biſhop of* Antioch *ſhould have put down a thouſand Biſhops about him, and made himſelf the ſole Biſhop of the Churches.*] This reaſon goes upon the ſame Suppoſition with the other, that every ſingle Congregation had a Biſhop, the proof of which we will examine in due place. The Biſhops of great Cities had ſeveral Pariſhes or Congregations under them in the firſt times, which never had any other Biſhops but themſelves; and it was not this but the contrary, that was the fault of great Biſhops and Metropolitans of old: for inſtead of depoſing little Biſhops, they multiply'd them to ſtrengthen their Party in Councils, when they began to vye with one another in number of Suffrages, as if the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould make every Town under his Juriſdiction, an Epiſcopal Seat, that he might have as many Suffrages as the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*. This I hope to prove in due place, and to ſhew the Reader how far Mr. *B.* is miſtaken in the Cauſes of Schiſm, and that nothing contributed more to ſome of them than the multiplying the number of the leſſer Biſhops by their Metropolitans.

Vid. Collat. Carthag.

3. His third Reaſon is, *That the Office of Presbyters is changed to Semi-presbyters,*] What then is the Office of a Presbyter? Is it not to preach, and to be the mouth of the Congrega-

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tion in publick Worſhip? to adminiſter the Sacraments? to exhort? to admoniſh, to abſolve the penitent, to viſit the ſick? This all Presbyters in the Church of *England* have full liberty to do; and I wiſh all would take care to execute their Function, as fully as it is permitted them.

4. *Diſcipline is made impoſſible, as it is for one General without inferiour Captains, to rule an Army.*] But are there not ſubordinate Officers in the Church, as well as in the Camp? How then is Diſcipline impoſſible? If the General reſerve to himſelf certain Acts of Juriſdiction, does he by that means ſuperſede the Commiſſions of all inferiour Commanders? Mr. *B.* is much upon the point of Diſcipline's being impoſſible under Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, becauſe one man, he thinks, cannot govern ſo many Pariſhes. Admit in all things he may not, nor is it neceſſary he ſhould, but in ſuch Acts of Government that are reſerved to him, it is poſſible enough, and has been practiſed from the days of the Apoſtles, to this preſent time. This Point you may find excellently diſcuſs'd by *Mr. Dodwel*, in his ſecond Letter to *Mr. B.* which *Mr. B.* confutes briefly, (*Ch. Hiſt.* 2. part) by telling the Reader, that if he will believe thoſe reaſons, he has no hopes of him; a ſhort way of confuting, and one would wonder, that he that makes uſe of it ſhould write ſo many and great Books of Controverſie. Yet this I muſt add, that if it be impoſſible now, 'tis fit to let the World know who has made it ſo; the Diſſenters themſelves have firſt weakned p. 22

weakned the Authority, and obſtructed the Execution of Diſcipline; and when the ſubordinate Officers agitated, caballed againſt their Superiour Commanders, it is no wonder if Government be made impracticable. However, the Accuſation ſounds ill from thoſe men, by whoſe Mutiny and ſeditious Practiſes, things have been brought to that evil Paſs.

§ 55. *Mr. B.* purſues his point further, and adds, *Much more does it become then unlawful, when firſt depoſing all Presbyters from Government by the Keys of Diſcipline they put the ſame Keys, even the Power of decretive Excommunication and Abſolution into the hands of Laymen called Chancellors, and ſet up Courts liker to the Civil than Eccleſiaſtical.*] It is a Queſtion I cannot eaſily reſolve, whether it be the King or the Biſhop that governs by the Chancellor, but whoever governs by them, they neither have nor ought to have the Power of *Deciſive Excommunication*, or the *Power of the Keys*, but act only as Aſſiſtants, and judges of matter of Fact, and apply the Canons, which determine what Offences are to be puniſh'd with Excommunication; if they do any more, I neither undertake the Defence, nor will I ſuppoſe thoſe that employ them, own their Actions any farther. However, the *Presbyterians* fall under the ſame Cenſure with our Dioceſans, for their Elders do directly excommunicate, and yet are lay-men. It would be much to the Advantage as well as the Reputation of our Diſſenters, if they would firſt agree, and correct thoſe Abuſes among themſelves, which they ſo ſhrply exclaim againſt in our Church.

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2. *When they oblige the Magistrate to execute their Decrees by the Sword, be they just or unjust, and to lay men in Goals, and ruine them, because they are excommunicated by Bishops, Chancellors,* &c. This is the Law of the State, and not of the Church, and therefore is not to be charged upon Diocesan Episcopacy; besides, now there are few that have reason to complain of this, there are those Evasions found that render that Law insignificant; but the *Threatning Princes and Magistrates with Excommunications, if not Depositions, if they do communicate with those whom the Bishops have excommunicated*, belongs not at all to our Diocesan Episcopacy: let the Papists, who hold this Doctrine, or the rigid *Scotch* Presbyterians, who seem to have outdone the Popes in their Claim of Authority over Sovereign Princes, answer it if they can. § 55. p. 23.

3. *Or when they arrogate the Power of the Sword to themselves, as* Socrates *says* Cyril *did.* How far *Socrates* is to be credited in his account of that Bishop, we shall consider in due place; in the mean time, this does not concern Diocesan Episcopacy, as it is with us, for our Bishops do not arrogate that Power: if the King confer upon them any Authority extrinsecal to their Office, *Mr. B.* has declared himself, that shall make no difference, and that he will submit to them notwithstanding. § 55. p. 23. § 59.

The next Paragraph I am loth to meddle with, it is little else but Bitterness and Railing, and this I have neither Skill nor Inclination to answer; yet because it is set down as

the higheſt Aggravation of *Dioceſan Tyranny*, I muſt ſay ſomething to it, leſt I ſhould be thought to be aſhamed of the Cauſe, and to deſert it.

§ 56. *It becomes much worſe*, (continues *Mr. B.*) *by tyrannical Abuſe, when being unable and unwilling to exerciſe true Diſcipline (and ſo many hundred Pariſhes) they have multitude of Atheiſts, Infidels, groſs Ignorants, and wicked Livers in Church Communion; yea compel all in their Pariſhes to communicate, upon pain of Impriſonment and Ruine, and turn their Cenſures cruelly againſt godly perſons, that dare not obey them in all their Formalities, Ceremonies, and Impoſitions, for fear of ſinning againſt God.* I am afraid, there are too many wicked men in all Communions, and the Communion, or as they call it, the Religion of the State, will have the moſt, for Reaſons I need not mention: but it is oftentimes a hard thing to know them, and until they are diſcovered it can be no Reproach to the Diſcipline of the Church that they are in outward Communion, but all *ſorts of People, and theſe with the reſt, are forced into our Communion.*] They are indeed obliged to come to Church, and to receive the Sacrament three times in the year; but all this is upon the Suppoſition of their being Chriſtians: if they declare to the contrary, they are immediately exempted from all Church-Juriſdiction; and for the Civil, let them deal with it as well as they can. It is the duty of every Chriſtian to come to Church and receive the Sacrament, and becauſe all that have been baptiſed and have not renoun-

renounced the Faith, are presum'd to be Christians; it is doubtless, lawful to quicken them to that which is their Duty by Penalties upon the neglect of it. As for the Atheists and Infidels declared, if they are admitted to Communion, it is an unexcusable fault of Discipline, yet such as is to be charged on the Minister of the Parish that receives them, rather than the Bishop; and for the being of any such men amongst us, that is not so much to be imputed to the defect of present Discipline, as to the licentiousness of the late unhappy times, and the Offence that was given to light and unsteady minds, by such pretended Saints as made Religion their Warrant for all their barbarous Villanies they committed.

But wicked Livers (he adds) *are forced into Church-Communion by the Bishops.*] This is a great Mistake, for the Bishop forces no such into the Church, but obliges the Minister and Church-wardens of every Parish, to present such, if any there be, that they might be separated from Communion, till they shall have given some Satisfaction to the Church, by their Repentance, and good Hopes of their future Amendment; and lastly, that *gross Ignorants are admitted to the Communion*, can be charged upon no other than the Minister of that place, whose Duty it is, to instruct them in the Principles of their Religion, and the Bishops are so far from obstructing the Exercise of this Duty, that there is hardly any thing which they press with greater Earnestness. § 56.

As to those godly persons who dare not obey the Orders of Bishops, in point of Church-Communion, and cannot bring their Conscience to comply with Ceremonies and Formalities.] Whether it be their Fault or Misfortune, I pity them heartily; but I believe this ought not to be charg'd upon the Constitution of our Episcopacy: for if the King and the great Senate of the Nation, after Experience of former Troubles, should think fit to impose this as a Test upon such as they thought the Government not secure of: what is all this to Diocesan Episcopacy?

§ 57. The next Paragraph concludes the Arraignment of Diocesan Bishops, not with any Argument, but a great many hard Words, which suppose the Proofs that have gone before to have amounted to full Evidence. I am not willing to repeat them here, let them stand or fall with those Arguments they depend upon.

Now least you should take *Mr. B.* for an Enemy to Bishops, for one sort he rejects he receives two, the first, such as St. *Jerom* says *Was brought into the Church for a Remedy against Schism; the Bishop of this Constitution was to preside over Presbyters, and without him nothing*

§ 58. *of Moment was to be done in the Church.* These Presbyters that were under the Bishop, had they several Parishes or Congregations, or the same with their President? If several, then this is the Diocesan Prelacy, that is a Crime in it's Constitution; if the same, then what did they do there? For by old Canons it appears, (and *Mr. B.* makes use of them to serve his own Turn) that a Presbyter was not to preach.

preach in the Preſence of the Biſhop, what then? Shall they only read the Offices of the Church? This is to fall into worſe than Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, and to make Presbyters, not Preaching, but, what ſounds much meaner, reading Curates only to the Biſhops.

There is another ſort of Biſhops that he dares not deny to be of divine Inſtitution, *And they* § 60. *are ſuch as ſucceed the Apoſtles in the ordinary part of Church-Government, while ſome ſenior Paſtors have the ſuperviſing Care of many Churches,(as the Viſitors had in* Scotland,) *and are ſo far* Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum, *and Arch-biſhops, having no conſtraining Power of the Sword, but a Power to admoniſh and inſtruct the Paſtors, and to regulate Ordinations, Synods, and all great and common Circumſtances that belong to Churches; for if one Form of Government in which ſome Paſtors had ſuch extenſive Work and Power (as* Timothy, Titus, *and Evangeliſts as well as Apoſtles had) we muſt not change it without Proof, that Chriſt himſelf would have it changed.*

Let us compare this with Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, and ſee whether for all this mincing of the matter, they will not amount to the ſame thing: this ſuperviſing of many Churches, does it not ſound like having many Pariſhes under them? And if this be impoſſible for a Dioceſan, how comes it to be otherwiſe in an Evangeliſt, or an Apoſtle? Nay, how comes it to be allowed in a *Scotch* Viſitor or Super-intendent? The regulating Ordinations is no other in Scripture-Phraſe, than to appoint and ordain Elders in every Church, and in every

City; the Dioceſan Biſhops deſire no more in that point, than to have ſuch a Regulation, and that it ſhould not be accounted an Ordination that is done without, or in Oppoſition to them. The Evangeliſts might ſometimes ordain Elders by their own ſingle hands, without the Aſſiſtance of any Presbyter, ſometimes together with the Presbytery; our Dioceſan Biſhops never ordain any to that Order, without the Aſſiſtance of their Presbyters; the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles had the Direction of Church-cenſures, as appears from frequent Inſtances in the new Teſtament; as alſo an Authority or Elders as well as the People, to admoniſh and rebuke, and puniſh thoſe that were negligent or diſorderly; The Biſhops claim no more, it is the ſame Authority, it is the ſame Office hitherto, and this is the ſame of what the Biſhops in all Ages of the Church have pretended to ſucceed to; they of the Presbyterian way, make all this Power of the Apoſtles, as extraordinary as their Gifts, and to expire together with them: but for this they never offer any Reaſon; and if this Notion ſhould obtain, it would follow, that neither Presbyters nor Deacons could be ſucceeded in their Offices, becauſe they alſo were inſpired with extraordinary Gifts as well as the Apoſtles. But Mr. *B.* allows all this, and that they ought to be ſucceeded even in this Eminence and Extent of Work and Power; Why then does he find Fault, and exclaim againſt that which he cannot deny to be of divine Inſtitution, and of perpetual Uſe under the name of Dioceſan Epiſco-

1 Cor. 5.
2 Cor. 2. 9, 10, 11.
1 Tim. 5. 19, 20, 21.
Tit. 2. 15.

Epiſcopacy? From theſe men the ancient Biſhops derived their Title, to this Authority they pretended to ſucceed, *Polycrates* reckons himſelf the ſixth from *Timothy*, and *Irenæus* gives us the ſucceſſion of the *Roman* Biſhops, from St. *Peter*, to his time; and if it had been neceſſary to his Purpoſe, did undertake to ſhew the ſame of the Governours of the moſt conſiderable Churches in the World, which afterwards *Euſebius* has collected out of their ſeveral Regiſters. *Theodoret* does admirably explain the Original of this Title, by ſhewing that the Apoſtolick Power was fully convey'd to their Succeſſors. *Thoſe that are now call'd Biſhops, ſays he, were, in the Beginning, called Apoſtles, and the name of Biſhop and Presbyter were then of the ſame Signification; but in Proceſs of time, the Title of Apoſtle was appropriated to thoſe who were Apoſtles indeed; that is, to the* 12. *And the name of Biſhops was taken up by thoſe that were before called Apoſtles.* *Salmaſius* a man that never looks behind him, or regards any Conſequence, runs away with this Paſſage as if he had found the greateſt Treaſure in the World, that Biſhop and Presbyter ſignified the ſame thing in the Apoſtles time; and is ſo tranſported that he cannot take any notice that at the ſame time there is a Diſtinction made between the Office of Presbyter and Biſhop: for the Name they anciently bore, ſhews the Nature and Eminency of their Office, that they were Apoſtles in Authority; but the Title being too great and invidious, they laid it down for an humbler name, and were content with

Act. Conc. Tholi. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 24.

Comment. 1 Ep. ad Timoth. Schol. Græc.

Walo Meſſ. p. 35. & ſequent.

the Stile that was common to Presbyters in the Apostles time. Hitherto we have an exact Agreement between these three sorts of Episcopacy, and find the Members of Mr. *B*'s *most compendious Distinction*, to be without *Difference*.

But it must not be dissembled, that there are some things in which they seem to disagree, especially these two; first, That the Evangelists or Apostles were unfixt, but Bishops are determined to a certain Diocess. Secondly, That the Apostles and Evangelists had Bishops under their Jurisdiction, which Bishops do not pretend to.

As to this Unsetledness of the Apostles, there are some that look upon travelling to be so essential to their Office, that their Commission is in danger to expire, if they should reside any considerable time in any certain place. And *Salmasius* makes so acute a Remark upon the Inscription of St. *John*'s two latter Epistles, as comes within a small matter of deposing him. Before those Epistles, he stiles himself *John* the Presbyter, or the Elder, or it may be in *English*, no more than *John* the aged; and what would you imagine so great a Critick would observe from this? That St. *John* having fixt his Residence at *Ephesus* for some considerable time, had lost the Eminence of his Apostleship, and sunk into the common Level of Presbytery; and therefore stiles himself Presbyter only, as if he had been conscious his Apostleship had departed from him. But how comes St. *Paul* to remain three years in the same place, and retain

Salmas. de Episc. & Presb.

tain his Title, and much longer yet at *Rome*, where he dyed in the Exercise of his Apostleship? *Clemens Alex.* speaking of St. *John*, tells us he went about, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων. In some places he appointed Bishops where they were wanting, and none but Apostolick men could do it; and in some places he himself govern'd the Church entirely, *i. e.* as their Bishop, and probably, appointed another when he left them, to succeed in the Charge. *Vales* did not see the Import of this Phrase, but rendred it, *Partim ut ecclesias integras disponeret & formaret.* The last is a Comment that destroys the Sence of *Clement*, who by ἁρμόσων could not understand the setting of a Church, under it's Officers which his former seems to imply, but the ordering and governing of it by himself, in Opposition to his setting up of Bishops in other places; and though he had some Authority there by way of supervising the Bishops, yet he did not take the Care of the whole, which is, ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμοζεῖν.

Now in whatsoever City they lived, besides the general Care of all the Churches, they lookt upon that as their peculiar Charge, and govern'd not as ordinary Presbyters, but by Apostolick Authority: as a Metropolitan; who although he has the supervising of all the Diocesses within his Province, yet may have his proper Diocess which he governs, as a particular Bishop. And the Office of an Apostle does not essentially consist in the governing of more Churches than one, else St. *Paul* would never have

have vindicated his Apoſtleſhip from the parti-
1 *Cor.* 9. 2. cular Right he had over the *Corinthians*, *If I be not an Apoſtle to others, yet doubtleſs I am to you, for the Seal of my Apoſtleſhip are ye in the Lord.* So that though he had had no more Churches to govern, yet his Apoſtolick Authority might have been ſtill exerciſed over that particular one of *Corinth.* The Provinces of the Evangeliſts were not yet ſo large as thoſe of the Apoſtles, for theſe were either ſent to ſuch Cities or Parts, whither the Apoſtles themſelves could not go, or left where they could not ſtay: The Church of *Epheſus* was the Dioceſe of *Timothy*, from whence although the greater Occaſions of other Churches might call him away, and require his Aſſiſtance, yet his Authority was not Temporal, nor would it have expired, if he had reſided a longer while at *Epheſus*; ſo that theſe Apoſtolick men were not ſo becauſe they were unfixt, but becauſe they had that Eminence of Authority, which they might exerciſe in one or more Churches, according as their Neceſſities did require, or as the Spirit ſignified: and that they did not ſettle in one place is to be aſcribed to the Condition of their Times, and not to the nature of their Office: for the Harveſt was now great, and ſuch Labourers as theſe were but few, and therefore their Preſence was required in ſeveral Places. And as this Unſetledneſs is not eſſential to Apoſtolick Authority, no more is it eſſential to Epiſcopacy to be determined to a certain Church. Every Biſhop is Biſhop of the Catholick Church, and that his Authority is confined

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to a certain district, is only the positive Law of the Church, that forbids one Bishop any Exercise of his Office within the Diocess of another; and St. *Paul* seems to have given them the occasion, who would not *build upon another mans Foundation.* However, in any case of Necessity, this Positure Law is superseeded, and a Bishop may act in any place, by virtue of a general Power he has received in his Ordination: so that this first Exception of the Apostles and the Evangelists being unfixt, and Bishops determined to a particular Church, can make no essential Difference.

As to the *Visitors* of the *Church of Scotland*, they make evidently against Mr. *B*'s Notion of an essential Difference between Bishops and Evangelists; for first of all, the Residence was fixt to certain Cities, and their Jurisdiction confin'd within certain Provinces, as the Superintendent of the Country of *Orkney* was to keep his Residence in the Town of *Keirkwall*, he of *Rosse* in the *Channory* of *Rosse*, and so the rest in the Towns appointed for their Residence. *Their Office was to try the Life, Diligence, and Behaviour of the Ministers, the Order of their Churches, and the Manners of the People, how the Poor were provided, and how the Youth were instructed, they must admonish where Admonition needed, and dress all things that by good Counsel they were able to compose; finally, they must take note of all hainous Crimes, that the same may be corrected by the Censures of the Church.* So far of their Constitution as we find it in Mr. *Knox*'s first Project of Church-polity, and their

Spotswood Hist. Scot. l. 3. p. 158.

Spotswood p. 258.

pra-

practice was altogether the ſame with that of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, as Biſhop *Spotſwood* deſcribes it, *The Superintendents held their Office during Life, and their Power was Epiſcopal, for they did elect and ordain Miniſters, they preſided in Synods, and directed all Church Cenſures, neither was any Excommunication pronounced without their Warrant.* And now let the Reader judge how the Conſtitution of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy becomes a Crime, and yet theſe Viſitors of the Church of *Scotland*, conformable to divine Inſtitution.

As to the ſecond Exception, that the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts were *Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum*, and had Biſhops under their Juriſdiction, which our Dioceſans, who are the Biſhops but of particular Churches, do not pretend to; This makes no Difference, at leaſtwiſe no eſſential one, for the ſame perſon may have the Charge of a particular Church or Dioceſs, and yet have the ſuperviſing Power over ſeveral others. But in this point Mr. *B.* does but equivocate and impoſe upon his Reader; for by his *Epiſcopus gregis* he means only a Presbyter, and a particular Biſhop may have Juriſdiction over ſuch, without any Injury or Prejudice done to the Office, which from it's firſt Inſtitution has been under the Direction of a ſuperiour Apoſtolical Power: if therefore theſe Presbyters do retain all that Power which eſſentially belongs to them under a Dioceſan Biſhop, how are they degraded? In ſhort, either this Order of Congregational Epiſcopacy is different from Presbytery, or the ſame with it;

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if the ſame, how is it abrogated by Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, ſince Presbyters are ſtill in the full Poſſeſſion and Exerciſe of their Office. If they are diſtinct how then comes Mr. *B.* to confound them as he does, § 16. where he ſays, *That the Apoſtles themſelves ſet more than one of theſe Elders or Biſhops in every Church.* So then thoſe Apoſtolick men, as Biſhops of the particular Churches wherin as they reſided, had Authority over Presbyters within the Extent of their Dioceſs, and a general Surviſing Care of ſeveral other Churches, and ſo they were *Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum*: in the firſt, they are ſucceeded by Dioceſan Biſhops, in the latter, by *Metropolitans*, which yet were never lookt upon as two orders eſſentially diſtinct.

But after all this we ſhall never come to a right Underſtanding of Mr. *B*'s Epiſcopacy, unleſs we take along with it, his Notion of a particular Church, which he ſets down, *p.* 6. § 19. *There is great Evidence of Hiſtory, that a particular Church of the Apoſtles ſetling was eſſentially only* [*a Company of Chriſtians, Paſtors, and People, aſſociated for perſonal holy Communion, and mutual help in holy Doctrine, Worſhip, Converſation, and Order*] *therefore it never conſiſted of ſo few or ſo many, or ſo diſtant as to be uncapable of ſuch perſonal Help and Communion, but was ever diſtinguiſhed as from accidental Meetings, ſo from the Communion of many Churches or diſtant Chriſtians, which was held but by Delegates, Synods, of Paſtors or Letters, and not by perſonal Help in Preſence. Not that all theſe muſt needs always meet in the ſame place, but that uſually* p. 6.

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they did ſo, or at due times at leaſt, and were no more, nor more diſtant than could ſo meet, ſometimes Perſecution hindred them, ſometimes the Room might be too ſmall, even independent Churches among us ſometimes meet in diverſe Places, and one Pariſh has diverſe Chappels for the aged and weak that are unfit for Travel.

Every one of theſe Churches then had one Biſhop, and was, in his Opinion, all the Dioceſs of apoſtolical and ancient Biſhops. If in any City or Town the number of Chriſtians ſhould exceed what might meet in one Congregation, that then they were to imitate the *Commonwealth of Bees, who when they grow too numerous for one hive, ſend out new Colonies*, commanded by their own Officers; ſo when Chriſtians grew too many for perſonal Communion in Doctrine and Worſhip, they muſt reſolve themſelves into ſeveral Churches, and have as many independent Biſhops, as they have Congregations.

But this model of a Church I am afraid is like to pleaſe no Party: for the Diſſenters are of Opinion we have too many Biſhops already, but this Project would make more Biſhops in this one City, than are now in the three Kingdoms.

Diſp. 1. of Ch. Gov. Ch. Hiſt. part 2.

Mr. *B.* has elſewhere endeavoured to take away this Prejudice, by ſaying, that thoſe many Biſhops he is for, are not of the ſame ſort with ours: 'tis true indeed, Dioceſes are not to be ſo large, yet their Power within their own Church, is to be equal to the others within their Dioceſs; and the Church would

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fare no better in this Caſe, than the Empire did in the times of *Galienus*, when the People, generally diſcontented with his Government, becauſe it was too remiſs, found themſelves immediately enſlaved by no leſs than thirty Tyrants. The Presbyterians would never endure that the Power of their Claſſes and Synods, ſhould be ſettled in congregational Biſhops, and the Independent's Principles will as little admit this Project: the *Eraſtian* Party will allow this Biſhop no Power of Cenſures or Church Diſcipline. *Lewis Moulin*, who ſeems to ſpeak in the name of all the *Engliſh* Independents, explodes the uſe of Excommunication in a Chriſtian State, and will have no Ruler but the Civil; and ſome of the greateſt men of that party in their Recommendations before his Book, though they ſpeak ſomething cautiouſly, yet do not diſapprove his Notion. What ſome others of them have writ of the Nature of a Church, is ſo myſterious and ſeraphical, that one muſt be *verè adeptus* to underſtand it: the plaineſt thing I believe can be made of it is that they are above Ordinances, and that theſe Saints on Earth have as little need of Diſcipline and Cenſures, as thoſe in Heaven. *Parænſis.*

The Epiſcopal men are content with the preſent Form, and do not deſire the Biſhops ſhould be multiplyed; at leaſt, not according to this Project: for this, in their Judgment, would lie heavier than the Burden of *Iſſachar*, So that I cannot ſee what party or principles this would ſuit, beſides the Authors own, nor

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since he is so subject to Change, is it likely to please him long: However, if it be the Primitive Platform, it is Reason, that all Churches notwithstanding their Prejudices, should conform to it, and therefore it is not equal it should be rejected, though all the World were against it, before that *great Evidence of History*, which he alledges in Favour of it, is consider'd.

For this Evidence he refers us to another Book of his, § 22. where the Proofs are set down at large; the first Authority he mentions there after the Scriptures, is that of *Clemens Romanus*, who mentions only Presbyters and Deacons; but this is besides the present Question. As for the *Pseudo Clement* which Mr. *Thorndike* mentions, and is alledg'd by Mr. *B.* though it may be to the Purpose, yet 'tis of no Authority. The next and the plainest as he confesses, is *Ignatius*, out of whom he cites several Passages, the first out of his Epistle *ad Smyrn. Ubi itaque apparet Episcopus, illic multitudo sit; quemadmodum utique ubi est Christus Jesus illic Catholica Ecclesia*, as in *B. Ushers* old Translation, with which *Vossius*'s Greek Copy does agree, from whence Mr. *B.* urges, *That this* Plebs *or* Multitudo *is the Church which he ruleth, and not only one Congregation among many that are under him: for this does without distinction bind all the people one as well as another, to be where the Bishop is or appeareth*, viz. *in the publick Assembly for Communion in Worship. It is plain therefore there, that there were not then many such Assemblies under him; otherwise, all save one, must have*

1 Disput. of Ch. Government and Worship, p. 1659. and dedicated to *R. Cromwel.* p. 87. *Grotius* his Opinion he rejects himself. p 6. Edict. Vossii. Disp. p. 88.

Ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

have neceſſarily diſobey'd this Command.] To which I anſwer, firſt, That *Antiochus* cites this Paſſage, quite differently and more at large, than it is in the Text, and to this Effect, § *Wherever the Biſhop appears, there let the Multitude be, as whereſoever the name of Chriſt is call'd, there let a Church be aſſembled; it is not permitted the Flocks of young Lambs to go whitherſoever they pleaſe, but whither the Shepherds lead them; thoſe that remain out of the Flock, the wild Beaſts deſtroy, and devour all that which goes aſtray*: which Words do not at all imply, whether there were one or more Congregations under that Biſhop, and their deſign is to prove that Chriſtians ought not to aſſemble themſelves where they pleaſe, without the Leave of, or in Oppoſition to their Biſhop: this appears plainly from the Context to which Mr. *B.* does refer us, theſe are the Words that immediately precede the Paſſage alledg'd, *Nullus ſine Epiſcopo aliquid operetur eorum quæ conveniunt in Eccleſiam, illa firma gratiarum actio reputetur quæ ſub ipſo eſt, vel quam utique ipſe conceſſerit.* So that here is a plain diſtinction between a Congregation under the Biſhop, that is, where he is perſonally preſent, and a Congregation aſſembled by his Permiſſion and Allowance; and theſe Expreſſions of *Ignatius* can have no other Occation, than the Uſage of the Church even in his time, to have ſeveral Congregations under one Biſhop.

Antioch. Ser. 124.

Τῶν ἀνεκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Εὐχαριστία. Ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ.

The next Proof is out of *Ignatius*'s Epiſt. to the *Philadelphians*, where he exhorts them to come all to the ſame Euchariſt, and theſe are

his Motives, *Una enim Caro Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, & unus Calix in Unionem Sanguinis ipſius, unum altare & unus Epiſcopus cum Presbyterio & Diaconis conſervis meis.* And thus the old Tranſlation, which is word for word according to the *Florentine Greek* Copy.

Diſp. p. 83.

The Paſſage, as Mr. *B.* cites it, is in this Epiſtle interpolated, but making more for his purpoſe, he preferr'd it to the Genuine Reading, where there is no mention of *unus Panis, unus Calix, toti Eccleſiæ*, but that which he lays his greateſt ſtreſs upon is, *Unum Altare, unus Epiſcopus*, and this all Copies do agree in; from whence he concludes, *Here it is manifeſt, that the particular Church, which in thoſe dayes was govern'd by a Biſhop, Presbyters and Deacons, was but one Congregation, for every ſuch Church had but one Altar.*

This Obſervation of one Altar in one Epiſcopal Church, he confirms by Mr. *Mede*, who propounds it with great Modeſty, and onely as a Conjecture, and *M. B.* has added nothing to his Reaſon, more than his own Confidence. If he had but taken leiſure to conſider, and not have run away with that onely which ſeems to make for his purpoſe, he might have found enough in thoſe very Paſſages cited by Mr. *Mede*, to have undeceived him. The Matter in ſhort is thus; The Principal Church, or Meeting-place, in every City, belong'd to the Biſhop, where his Chair was ſet up, with a Bench of Presbyters on every ſide, circling the Communion Table; this whole place was called *Altare, Sacrarium*, and with-

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in the Juriſdiction of a ſingle Biſhop; it is probable there was no more than one: the Biſhop with his Presbyters and Deacons repreſented the Unity of the Church, although it might be divided into ſeveral Congregations, and every Congregation might have a Communion Table; ſo that one Biſhop, one Altar, ſignifies indeed the Unity of the Church, as being the place of its common Councel and ſolemn Tribunal, and to ſet up an Altar is not to have two Communion Tables in a City, but to have diſtinct Governments, and oppoſite Biſhops and Presbyters; this is confirmed by a Paſſage of *Ignatius* in his Epiſtle to the *Magneſians* cited by Mr. *B. Omnes adunati ad templum Dei concurrite ſicut ad unum Altare.* If this reading which he uſes were right, it would diſtinguiſh between Chriſtian Temples, and imply, that ſome of them had not Altars, which is not likely to be true, if Altar and Communion-table were the ſame. But to ſpeak ingeniouſly, neither Temple nor Altar here does ſignifie what Mr. *B.* would have it; for the *Florentine* Copy has, Ὡς εἰς ναὸν συντρέχετε θεῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, which refers only to the *Jewiſh* Temple and Altar, wherein conſiſted the Unity of the *Jewiſh* Church, notwithſtanding they were divided into many Synagogues and Congregations.

Mr. *B*'s Diſpute of Church Government, p. 90. The Ancients ordinarily call the Lords Table and the place where it ſtood, θυσιαστήριον. I ſay, the Table and the *Sacrarium* or place of it's ſtanding. And ſo ſays Biſhop *Usher* in his Notes upon the paſſage before cited, *Altare apud patres ſæpiſſime Dominio eam paſſim denotat apud* Ignatium & Polycarpum, *Sacrarium quoque.*

But that one Altar for every Church ſo frequently mention'd by *Ignatius*, does not ſignifie every Communion-table, but that eminent one together with the Biſhops Chair, and the bench of the Presbyters, appears from diverſe Paſſages in his Epiſtles. In that to the *Magneſians* he alledges to this Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory about the Altar, Καὶ ἀξιοπλόκῳ πνευματικῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὑμῶν. That well-platted Crown of our Presbyters, alledging to the Figure in which they ſate; and then follows, βουλῇ θυσίων, the Counſel of the Altar or Sacrifices.

And in his Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, he ſpeaks to this Effect, Unleſs a man be ἔντος τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου within the verge of the Altar, he is no partaker of the bread of God, and this Phraſe, ἔντος θυσιαστηρίου, he explains in his Epiſtle *ad 'Trallenſes*, he that is within the Altar is clean, 'wherefore he obeys the Biſhops and the Presby-'ters; he that is without, is ſuch a one that 'does any thing without the Biſhop and the 'Presbyters: ſo that Obedience to the Biſhop or Presbyter, is an Explication of that Phraſe of being within the Altar: and this might conſiſt with the Diviſion of the Church into ſeveral diſtinct Congregations. But St. *Cyprian* in his fifty fifth Epiſt. makes this yet clearer, where ſpeaking of the Inſolence of ſuch as having ſacrificed to Idols, thruſt themſelves into Church-Communion, without doing any Pennance, he breaks out at laſt into this paſſionate 'Aggravation: what then remains, but that the 'Church ſhould yield to the Capital, and that the

'the Priests withdrawing themselves, and ta-
'king away the Altar of our Lord, Images, and
'Idol-Gods, together with their Altars, should
'succeed and take Possession of the place, pro-
'per to the sacred and venerable bench of our
'Clergy? the bench of the Clergy then belongs to the Altar, that is, the Communion-table of the Principal and Episcopal Church, to which all other Congregations did belong, in as much, as the Presbyters they joyn'd with, appertain'd to that Altar, and so there was ἓν θυσιαστήριον and ἷς ἐπίσκοπος, and yet several Assemblies under his Direction and within the Communion of that Altar.

This Usage of one Altar and several Communion-tables depending upon it, continu'd a long while after in the Church: *Innocent* I. in his Letter to *Decentius*, mentions the sending of the consecrated Symbols from the Episcopal Church Altar, to the depending Parishes upon solemn times; and long after that, all the Parishes of a Diocese paid Homage to the Episcopal Church by sending some of their principal Members to communicate there, upon Solemn Festivals, as appears by several Canons that are cited and examined more particularly hereafter: and here in *England* there have been Footsteps of the same Custom till of late in Comparison, though from the first beginning of the Gospel we have not the least hint of Congregational Episcopacy in this place.

The next thing he alledges is a passage out of *Justin Martyr*, where he describes the manner of the Christian Assemblies in his time, *Just. Martyr* Ap. 2. p. 97. Ed. Pariz. 98. 99.

1 Diſpute p. 92. where the Euchariſt is ſaid to be celebrated by 'the Biſhop, and that on Sunday all the Chriſti-'ans that liv'd either in Cities or in the Coun-'try, came together, prayed with, and received 'the Sacraments at the hand of the Biſhop, and 'thoſe that were abſent, had it ſent to them by 'the Hand of the Deacons: but what ſhall we conclude from hence? That all that came to-gether could come to one place, or becauſe the Congregation of the Biſhop as being the moſt eminent, is here only deſcribed, muſt we con-clude that there was no more than one in any City? This account is only General and ſerves only to ſhew what they did, when they came together, (and the Principal Aſſembly, was ſurely the moſt proper inſtance) and not in how many places they might be Aſſembled.

Ibid. p. 93. The Story of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* makes the next Proof, who being made againſt his will Biſhop of *Neo-Cæſarea* found but ſeven-teen Chriſtians in the whole City: this was in-deed a ſmall Congregation and hardly nume-rous enough to make a Church; but if Mr. *B.* had been ſo ingenious, as to have mentioned the Succeſs of that Biſhop's Miniſtry, he might have ſpared any one elſe the Labour of anſwer-ing this Inſtance: for the ſame Biſhop out of thoſe contemptible Beginnings did ſo far en-large the Church of that place, that when he dy'd, he left but ſeventeen in the whole City that were not Chriſtians, if the number of Chri-ſtians at his firſt Entrance was hardly enough to make a Congregation, towards his latter end it was ſurely too great for one: for the

Greg. Nyſſ. in vit. Greg. Thaum.

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multitude of people in the City and the Country that belong'd to it, it is said by *Gregory Nyſſer* to be infinite. *ubi ſupra.*

The Teſtimony of *Tertullian*, *Apolog. chap.* 39. is as little to his purpoſe; his words are theſe, *Where a Body compacted, by the Knowledge of the ſame Religion, the Unity of Diſcipline, and the League of Hope, do come together into one Congregation, to offer up Prayers to God, we meet for the hearing of the holy Scriptures, we feed our Faith with thoſe holy words, we raiſe up our hope, we fix our Confidence, we confirm Diſcipline by the inculcating of our Saviours Precepts; there are likewiſe there Exhortations, as being done in the preſence of God, that is lookt upon as an Anticipation of future Judgment, if any one has ſo offended as to be baniſh'd from the Communion of Prayer and the Aſſembly, and of all holy Commerce; moſt approv'd Elders do preſide.* Now let the Reader judge, whether Mr. *B.* has Reaſon to be ſo confident of this Paſſage, as to ſay, *If I be able to underſtand* Tertullian, *it is here plain, that each Church conſiſted of one Congregation*; and yet out of the words, there can be nothing brought to favour it, unleſs it be this, that Chriſtians uſed in thoſe days to aſſemble for Prayer, and reading of the Scriptures, but whether one or more ſuch Aſſemblies were under the Diſcipline of the Biſhop and Presbytery, is not ſignified in the leaſt. That Elders are ſaid to preſide, does not at all prejudice the Right of the Biſhop, for either theſe are Biſhops that are ſaid to preſide, and ſo every particular Church will have many; which if it be not againſt Mr, p. 93. Conus ad deum Ed. Rigalty, and not in eatum & Congregationem. pag. 94.

B's Notion of Episcopacy, is confessedly against the practice of the Church, in those times when one Church had no more than one Bishop: if they were Presbyters, then 'tis probable, there was more than one Congregation. But it appears by what follows, that these Presidents were all the Officers of the Church, where they are distinguish'd from the people, and said to live out of the common Stock, and the Deacons as well as Priests, did assist at the Sacrament, and the Bread and Wine was distributed by their hands, as I shall endeavour to prove in due place; Which he cites out of the same Author, *De Corona Militis*, to put his meaning out of all doubt, concludes nothing less than what he would have him to say; his words are to this effect, *That we must receive the Eucharist at all times, but from no other hand but those that preside.* That those were not Bishops, appears from the next passage which he cites out of the same place, where *Tertullian*, speaking of Baptism, mentions the form of renouncing the World and the Devil, *Sub manu Antistitis*, where we may observe, that he uses another Word, as well as another Number; yet since it is said that Christians ought not to receive the Sacrament, but from the hands of those Presidents, we must not conceive the Bishop to be excluded, but by that general Name to be comprehended together with his Bench of Presbyters: but will not this Circumstance of Baptism serve to evince, that a Bishop had then but one Congregation, and every one to be baptized, was to make his Renunci-

Præsidentium c. 3.

This Mr. B. mistakes Ch. Hist. p. 7. when he says, that they took not the Lord's Supper, but only *Antistitis manu*, I suppose his Memory deceiv'd him.

nunciation under the Biſhops Hand? nothing leſs: for many more might be baptized by a Biſhop in the compaſs of few years, than there are in the greateſt Dioceſe in the World. *Paulinus* could not well wiſh a greater number in his Dioceſs, than he baptized in ſeven and thirty days: *Pamelius* did labour to prove that *Antiſtes* is the ſame with *Seniores Preſidentes*, and that Presbyters might baptize as well as Biſhops; but that is not the thing in Queſtion, nor does this Paſſage ſuppoſe every baptiſm performed by the Biſhop; but the Renunciation of the Devil, *&c.* which was preparatory to it, to have been made in his preſence, he might have a very large Dioceſs, and be at Leiſure for this, eſpecially when we conſider, that the generality of Chriſtians in thoſe times had ſuch an awe of that Sacrament and the ſtrict Obligation it lay upon them of more than ordinary Sanctity, that they deferr'd it till the laſt, and were baptized on their Death-bed, and that not by the Biſhop, but by any other Presbyter or Deacon: nor can we find in all the Hiſtory of the times we now ſpeak of, that Children had any part in the ſolemn and publick Baptiſm, but they might be privately baptized in caſe of Neceſſity, and eminent danger of Death, without the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop. And long after theſe times, we find in the largeſt Dioceſes where a great many Congregations are affirmed to be under the ſame Biſhop, there were but three days in the year appointed for ſolemn Baptiſm, and the Biſhops were ſo far from being unequal to the Multitude, that

Bed. l. 2. chap. 14.

One Baptiſtry to a Church, ſufficient for ſeveral Congregations.

that they complain of the general Neglect of the Sacrament, and of their not being fully employed at those times; so that supposing this *Antistes* to be the Bishop, and every one that was solemnly baptized past under his hand; it is far from making out Mr. *B*'s Notion, that there was but one Congregation under him.

Disp. 95. in the Margin. Ch. Hist. p. 7.

The next thing he makes use of to confirm his Conception of Congregational Church, is the Consent of the people, as well in the Election of their Bishops, as in several other Ecclesiastical Acts; but this he rather hints by the Bye, than insists upon, and I suppose, did not value much, since he takes no care to improve it: whoever will take the pains to examine those passages, will find that the people never polled at the Election of their Bishops, which was principally the act of the Clergy, but approved it commonly by a general and confused Voice of the Multitude, that was present, and the Phrase *Universa Plebs* does not denote every particular Christian of the Church, but onely a general Assembly and Congregation of as many as could come together, or of the most considerable Persons of the Diocese, or rather, as it is usually express'd, all the People that were present at the Action: *Cornelius* elected, *plebis quæ tunc adfuit Suffragio.* Cypr. *l.* 4. *c.* 2. I shall not forget to answer this Argument more particularly hereafter, when we shall meet with it confirmed by any Canon of Councils, or other passages in his History.

Ἁι περὶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομίαι γινονται μὲν παρὰ τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν προστασίαν ἀντῶν βεβαιοῦνται δὲ παρὰ τῶν λαῶν. Basil. Ep. 194. *ad* Pleb. Nicop.

As

As for *Nynins*'s Hiſtory of St. *Patrick* and the three hundred and ſixty five Biſhops, which he planted in *Ireland*, I ſuppoſe 'twas invented by ſome learned Monk, to fill up the *Iriſh* Calender, and to leave no day in the year ſo forlorn, but that the name of one of theſe Biſhops could vindicate it from Prophaneneſs.

That which follows of *Scotlands* having no Biſhops before *Palladius*, but that the people there were inſtructed by Prieſts and Monks, makes nothing at all to our preſent purpoſe, though the Authority of *Henricus Major*, and *Johannes Fordorius* were unqueſtionable, for there is no account of ſetled Churches or Diſcipline, but only that ſome good men out of their Zeal for Religion, did endeavour to propagate it among the *Scots*, and that theſe were not Biſhops. But *Buchanan* ſtretches this point higher than it will bear, and will have it, that the Churches of *Scotland* were governed by Presbyters and Monks, the firſt time; I believe in Story we meet with Monks amongſt the Orders of Church-Government: but I believe that the Story it ſelf may be eaſily diſproved, and we may expect ſhortly a fuller account of this and other things, relating to the ancient *Britiſh* Church, by the hand of one of the greateſt Maſters of Antiquity in this Nation.

Diſp. 1. 97. Yet *England* had Biſhops long before, as may be ſeen in the Subſcriptions of the Councils of *Orleance* and *Nice*.

The laſt part of Mr. *B*'s Evidence has ſome of the Canons of ancient Councils, but I muſt needs ſay, he does not cite with that accuracy, that one would expect from a perſon that advances ſo ſingular a notion; The firſt is the four-

Can. 1. fourteenth of the Council of *Adge*, the Sum of it is this, that if any man ſhould deſire a Chappel of Eaſe for the benefit of his Family, he might be gratified in it, but with this Proviſo, that upon the moſt ſolemn Feaſts he ſhould hear divine Service in *Parochiis aut Civitatibus.* Mr. *B.* makes *Parochia* ſignifie a Dioceſe, becauſe the word is uſed frequently in that ſenſe by *Euſebius* and other Ancients, but does not conſider, that the Import of it is changed by this time, and is taken for a Pariſh in the fifty third Canon of the Council of *Adge*, whoſe Title is *de Presbyteris parochianis rei Eccleſiæ diſtrahentibus*; *& cap.* 2. *vaſſ.* 3. There is expreſs Difference made where a Presbyter is allow'd to preach, *Non ſolum in Civitatibus ſed in omni-*
47. *bus Parochiis.* The next is the thirtieth Canon of the ſame Council, *Benedictionem ſuper plebem fundere, aut pœnitentem in Eccleſia benedicere presbytero pœnitus non licebit*; to which he
47. adds the thirty firſt, *Miſſus die dominico ſæcularibus totis audire ſpeciali ordine præcipimus, ita ut ante benedictionem ſacerdotis egredi populus non preſumat, quod ſi fecerit, ab Epiſcopo publicè confundatur.* From whence he infers, that all the people were oblig'd to come to the Biſhops Church, becauſe they were to ſtay till the Benediction, which it was lawful for the Biſhop only to give; but if Mr. *B.* had conſidered theſe two Canons, he muſt have obſerved, that either they contradict one another, or the ſame thing is not meant by the Benediction of the Prieſt and the Biſhop: by the firſt, which is reſerv'd to the Biſhop, Confirmation muſt in

all

all probability be underſtood: By the ſecond, the Prieſts Benediction, that which is pronounced at the diſmiſſing the Congregation; or if he will underſtand a Biſhop by *Sacerdos*, the Canon forbids it, in making a Diſtinction between them, *ab Epiſcopo confundatur*; whereas if by *Sacerdos* they would have underſtood a Biſhop, it is not likely they would have either chang'd the Term, or repeated it, but have added, *ab eo confundatur*. But why ſhould we inſiſt upon this, ſince nothing can be more notorious, than that Presbyters had Churches now diſtinct from Biſhops, and every Dioceſs almoſt a great number of Pariſhes, and there are few Councils of that Age, but oblidge the Biſhop to viſit all theſe Churches once a year.

To theſe he adds the thirty eighth Canon of the ſame Council, *Cives qui ſuperiorum ſolemnitatum*, id eſt, *Paſchæ & Natalis Domini, vel Pentecoſtes feſtivalibus cum Epiſcopis intereſſe neglexerint, quum in Civitatibus communionis, vel Benedictionis accipiendæ cauſa poſitos ſe noſſe debeant, triennio communione priventur Eccleſiæ.* It is not to be denyed, but it was the ancient Cuſtom for all the Pariſhes or places depending upon any Epiſcopal Church on certain times to repair to it, not ſo much for perſonal Communion, as for Homage: but we are not therefore to conceive, that every Soul under a Biſhops Charge, was to appear before him on thoſe ſolemn times, but only the moſt conſiderable perſons of every Diviſion, and this Canon means no more. *Sirmond* could never find any Diſp. p. 99.

more

more than 47 Canons of this Council, the rest were taken out of *Conc. Epaonense*, from whence the true Reading of this Canon is to be sought for: there is *Cives superiorum natalium* (not *solennitatum*) and so it is corrected in the best Edition of the Council of *Agde*, and *Communionis* is left out: which restoring of this Canon overthrows all the use that M. *B.* would make of it, since all are neither obliged to be present, nor to personal Communion, but what *Cives superiorum Natalium* signifies, we must learn from other Councils of this Age: in the 14 chap. of the Councel of *Arvern.* we have it thus explained, that together with all the Presbyters and Deacons of a Diocese, *Quicunque sunt etiam Cives natu majores pari modo in Urbibus ad Pontifices suos in prædictis Civitatibus veniant.* And the third Canon of the fourth Council of *Orleans*, obliges onely the *Principal Citizens* to assist the Bishops on these Solemn Times, *Quisquis de prioribus Civibus Pascha extra Civitatem tenere voluerit, sciat sibi à cuncta Synodo esse prohibitum*, which is no other than if the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, the Liveries, and most considerable Citizens were obliged on certain High Festivals to come to Church to St. *Pauls.*

The next of the Canons he produces are either to the same effect with what he has already alledged, or not directly to his purpose, so that I believe upon a Review he will judge as well as I that there is no necessity of a Reply.

M. B.

Mr. B. has heretofore excepted, the Churches of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, and has deſpair'd of bringing them ever to comply with his Model; but now it ſeems he has found a means to reduce them to a Congregation: he revokes his former Conceſſions, and declares, that he finds no reaſon to believe (that ever the two chief Cities of the Empire had ſo long; that is, for two hundred years after Chriſt, more than ſome *London* Pariſhes, or near half ſo many) it is Pity theſe great *London* Pariſhes ſhould ever be divided, they are ſo ſerviceable to Diſſenters on all Occaſions; for if a Conventicle is to be kept up, the Greatneſs of St. *Martin*'s or St. *Giles* Pariſh will juſtifie it; thoſe Churches will not hold a tenth man that ought to repair to them, and ſurely, better ſet up a meeting againſt the Law, than that the People go unedified. And again, when *Rome* or *Alexandria* are to be reduced to a ſingle Congregation, then it is but comparing them to theſe great Pariſhes, and the work is done; *It is not likely, that for two hundred years,* Rome *it ſelf had near ſo great a number of Chriſtians as one of theſe Pariſhes.* Suppoſe they had not, the Queſtion is not whether the Church of *Rome* was more numerous than that of St. *Martins*, but whether they could meet in one Congregation: for ſuppoſe they were but half, or a quarter ſo big, if they could not meet in one place to hear the Word and receive the Sacraments, but muſt reſolve into ſeveral Aſſemblies for to do it, it is no matter what proportion they held to our *London* Pariſhes. Ch. Hiſt. p. 7. § 23.

But

But what Evidence is there out of Hiſtory, that the Church of *Rome* made but one Congregation for two hundred years after Chriſt, is it that the People are ſaid to conſent to the Election of the Biſhops, or to concur in ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Acts? But how ſhall we be aſſured, that every Believer was obliged to be preſent, or that Matters were carried by Vote; and not by general and confuſed Approbation? Beſides, though all that had the right of Electing Church Officers might poſſibly meet in one place, yet they were not the fifth part of the number that had right to Congregation and Perſonal Communion; for Women and Children, and Servants muſt be ſuppoſed to be excluded, together with the Poor, and the more inconſiderable Perſons: or if this practice of approving the Election of Church-Officers be any Argument for a Churches being no more than a ſingle Congregation, it will follow, that *Rome* had but one Congregation for many hundred years after, for the People were very long in poſſeſſion of that right, after the whole City was become Chriſtian, and ſurely then they were too numerous for one Congregation.

Anton. de Dom. l. 4. *c.* 11. makes a long deduction of the Election of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and proves that they were choſen by the People, until *Innocent* the Second, for 1100 years, and that he was the firſt that alter'd the ancient way of Election; Now if any one can believe, that for eleven Centuries there was but one Congregation in *Rome*, much good may it

do

do him. As for the Peoples Right to chuſe, which Mr. *B.* does ſo much inſiſt upon, and ſeems to give the People Encouragement to revolt from thoſe Biſhops, which they never choſe. I ſhall give a more particular Account of it towards the latter end of this Treatiſe.

Mr. *B.* makes a Computation of the Church of *Rome*, in the time of *Cornelius*, and finds it to fall much ſhort of one of our great Pariſhes; for when *Novatian* divided that Church, it had but forty ſix Prieſts, ſeven Deacons, and as many Sub-deacons, forty two Acoluti, Exorciſts, Readers, and Porters fifty two, Widows and Poor that were diſabled, and lived upon the Charity of the Church, fifteen hundred: upon which we compute thus, Suppoſe the Poor the tenth part of the whole Church, (as St. *Chryſoſtom* calculated the number of the Church of *Antioch*) the Product then would be fifteen thouſand, and not ten thouſand five hundred, as Mr. *B.* reckons, or the Printer miſtakes, and even thus would they be too many for one Congregation. We cannot imagine any five Churches of ſuch as the Chriſtians might be ſuppoſed then to have, capable of holding them all; but if we conſider this Paſſage more narrowly, we ſhall find Mr. *B*'s Computation to be extreamly ſhort: for theſe θλιβόμενοι were not only poor, but ſick and diſabled, for ſo the word is explain'd in the Epiſtle of the *Roman* Clergy to the Clergy of *Carthage*, upon the ſubject of *Cyprians* retiring, *Sive Viduæ, ſive Thlebomeni qui ſe exhibere non*

Ch. Hiſt. P. 7.

Euſeb. l. 6. c. 43.

Ap. Cyp.

But what Evidence is there out of Hiſtory, that the Church of *Rome* made but one Congregation for two hundred years after Chriſt, is it that the People are ſaid to conſent to the Election of the Biſhops, or to concur in ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Acts? But how ſhall we be aſſured, that every Believer was obliged to be preſent, or that Matters were carried by Vote; and not by general and confuſed Approbation? Beſides, though all that had the right of Electing Church Officers might poſſibly meet in one place, yet they were not the fifth part of the number that had right to Congregation and Perſonal Communion; for Women and Children, and Servants muſt be ſuppoſed to be excluded, together with the Poor, and the more inconſiderable Perſons: or if this practice of approving the Election of Church-Officers be any Argument for a Churches being no more than a ſingle Congregation, it will follow, that *Rome* had but one Congregation for many hundred years after, for the People were very long in poſſeſſion of that right, after the whole City was become Chriſtian, and ſurely then they were too numerous for one Congregation.

Anton. de Dom. l. 4. *c.* 11. makes a long deduction of the Election of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and proves that they were choſen by the People, until *Innocent* the Second, for 1100 years, and that he was the firſt that alter'd the ancient way of Election; Now if any one can believe, that for eleven Centuries there was but one Congregation in *Rome*, much good may it

do

do him. As for the Peoples Right to chuſe, which Mr. *B.* does ſo much inſiſt upon, and ſeems to give the People Encouragement to revolt from thoſe Biſhops, which they never choſe. I ſhall give a more particular Account of it towards the latter end of this Treatiſe.

Mr. *B.* makes a Computation of the Church of *Rome*, in the time of *Cornelius*, and finds it to fall much ſhort of one of our great Pariſhes; for when *Novatian* divided that Church, it had but forty ſix Prieſts, ſeven Deacons, and as many Sub-deacons, forty two Acoluti, Exorciſts, Readers, and Porters fifty two, Widows and Poor that were diſabled, and lived upon the Charity of the Church, fifteen hundred: upon which we compute thus, Suppoſe the Poor the tenth part of the whole Church, (as St. *Chryſoſtom* calculated the number of the Church of *Antioch*) the Product then would be fifteen thouſand, and not ten thouſand five hundred, as Mr. *B.* reckons, or the Printer miſtakes, and even thus would they be too many for one Congregation. We cannot imagine any five Churches of ſuch as the Chriſtians might be ſuppoſed then to have, capable of holding them all; but if we conſider this Paſſage more narrowly, we ſhall find Mr. *B*'s Computation to be extreamly ſhort: for theſe θλιβόμενοι were not only poor, but ſick and diſabled, for ſo the word is explain'd in the Epiſtle of the *Roman* Clergy to the Clergy of *Carthage*, upon the ſubject of *Cyprians* retiring, *Sive Viduæ, ſive Thlebomeni qui ſe exhibere non*

Ch. Hiſt. P. 7. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 43. Ap. Cyp.

poſſunt, ſive qui in Carceribus ſunt, ſive excluſi à ſedibus ſuis utique habere debent qui eis miniſtrent. So then theſe poor were ſuch only, as were not able to help themſelves, that were not able to come abroad; and ſuch as theſe ſurely are not the fortieth part of any people, unleſs it be in the time of Plague or extraordinary Sickneſs.

In the next place let us conſider the number of the Prieſts, what uſe can there be of forty ſix in one Congregation? For they were neither to preach nor adminiſter the Sacraments in the Preſence of the Biſhop; for the firſt Mr. *B.* urged it elſewhere to prove no more than one Congregation belong'd to one Biſhop, and I hope he will not be ſo diſingenious as to caſt it off as ſoon as he has ſerv'd his turn of it. For the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, *Juſtin Martyr* is very clear in his Deſcription, that *ubi ſupra.* the Biſhop conſecrated and gave it the Deacons to be diſtributed among the Congregation: ſo that unleſs there were diſtinct Congregations at that time, thoſe 46 Presbyters could hardly find how to employ themſelves.

Ch. Hiſt. *p.* 8. But Mr. *B.* does endeavour to remove this Objection, by ſhewing the Church-Officers were very much multiplyed in thoſe days, to the end, that as many as had any uſeful Gifts, might be employ'd in the Service of the Church: *Orat.* 1. *p.* 45. For this, he brings in *Nazianzen, as a credible Witneſs ſhortly after*, complaining of the Exceſs in this part, that the Church Rulers were almoſt more than the Subjects: but how *ſhortly after?* would you have judg'd this to have

have been ſpoke? No longer than about a hundred and fifty years, and after one of the greateſt Revolutions that happen'd in the Church in *Cornelius*'s time: the Chriſtians as Mr. *B.* remarks, were not of the greateſt and richeſt, and therefore it is not likely that the publick Charge ſhould be multiplyed without Neceſſity, and forty ſix Presbyters be appointed for one Congregation. But in *Nazianzen*'s time the Church was in a proſperous and flouriſhing Condition, the Governours were now become Chriſtians, and great Priviledges and Wealth were added to the Clergy, which made it then ſo deſireable a thing. But in *Cornelius*'s time the greateſt Dignity was Martyrdom, and the Clergy was particularly aim'd at by the Heathen Perſecutors, their Portion was Labour and Danger, they were to come and aſſiſt the Brethren in the Priſon and at the Stake; and the Office was ſo unpleaſant, that *Novatian* (the Author of that Sect which Mr. *B.* ſpeaks ſo favourably of) deſired to be eaſed of the Burden, and renounced his Prieſt-hood: beſides, the ſame Epiſtle of *Cornelius*, as if it were to prevent ſuch a Miſtake as this, expreſly tells us, that theſe Officers were not uſeleſs and unneceſſary, but calls the Clergy, Τὸ ζῶτον πλῆθος, καὶ οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, and the Neceſſity of them appears by what immediately follows, becauſe they had the Direction μηγίστου καὶ ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ of a great and innumerable People: and now with what Reaſon Mr. *B.* has retracted his Exception of the *Roman* Church, let the Reader judge.

Euſeb. l. 6. c. 43.

Ad Fabium Anti.

But the Church of *Rome* had long before outgrown the Stature of a Congregation, for *Euariſtus*, the ſixth from St. *Peter*, is ſaid to have divided *Rome* into Titles or Pariſhes, the multitude being grown too numerous for one Aſſembly; or if the Authority of the *Pſeudo Damaſus* be not to be depended upon, we have the two Epiſtles of *Pius* to confirm it: in the firſt we have mention of *Euprepia*, that had given to the Poor, *Titulum Domus ſuæ ubi nunc cum Pauperibus noſtris commorantes miſſas agimus.*

Ep. Pii ad Baron.

Several learned men do except againſt the Word *Miſſa* as not being yet in uſe in the Church, but it is a very hard matter to ſhew when it was firſt taken up; certain it is, that way of ſpeaking was made uſe of not long after, *Remiſſa* for *Remiſſio* being found in *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*: in the ſecond Epiſt. we have theſe words, *Presbyter paſtor titulum condidit & dignè in Domino obiit.* I muſt needs ſay, *Blondel* does not deal very ingeniouſly and equally with theſe Epiſtles, for in his *Pſeudo Iſidocus* he endeavours to prove them ſuppoſititious, tho they are not in *Iſidorus*'s Collection, yet in his Apology for St. *Jerom*'s Opinion concerning Biſhops, he vouchſafes to make uſe of one of them, to prove that Biſhop and Presbyter ſignified the ſame thing in *Pius*'s days; 'tis a ſad caſe, that the Ancients ſhall have no farther Credit with us, than they ſerve our Turn: when they ſpeak what men will not have them, then they are falſe and Impoſtours, let them give the ſame men but ſome little Countenance, and then they are true men again.

Hoſpin de Temp.

The

The great Liberality of the Church of *Rome* is no ſmall Argument of its Greatneſs, for, beſides the maintenance of their own Clergy and Poor, they were able to relieve moſt other Churches, and it was their *practice from the beginning to oblige all the Brethren, by all manner of kindneſs, and to ſend to a great many Churches that were eſtabliſht in every City, the Neceſſaries of Life, relieving the Neceſſity of thoſe that were in want, and ſending neceſſary relief to thoſe who were condemned to the Mines.* This was the ancient Liberality of the *Roman* Church, and *Soter* is ſaid, not only to have continued, but improv'd it. Now, if according to Mr. *B*'s Notion of thoſe Times, not many Rich, not many Noble were call'd, the number of Believers muſt be by ſo much the Greater, to be able to ſupply the Neceſſity almoſt of the Univerſal Church; and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* ſpeaks of the *Roman* Church's Charity in his time, in theſe words, *All the Provinces of* Syria, *together with* Arabia, οἷς ἐπαρκεῖτε ἐκάστοτε, which you relieve every one: The word ἐπαρκεῖτε is there Emphatical, and implies an admiration of, as it were, the All-ſufficiency of the *Roman* Church, how it ſhould be able to ſupply the wants of ſo many Churches, and to furniſh ſo Expenſive a Charity.

Euſeb. l. 14. c. 23.

Euſeb. l. 7. c. 5.

Under the Reign of *Commodus*, the Church is ſaid to have enjoyed peaceable and happy Times, and to have thriv'd ſo well, that the whole World in a manner was reduc'd; the words of *Euſebius* expreſs a wonderful increaſe; ὅτε καὶ ὁ σωτήριος λόγος ἐκ πάντας γένους

ἀνθρώπων, πᾶς ὑπήγετο ψυχὴν, ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσεβῆ θρεσκείαν; that every Soul in a manner, of every sort, came over to the Christian Religion; and at *Rome* particularly the increase was so great, ὥστι εὐμάλα πλούτω καὶ γένει διαφανῶν πλείους ἐπὶ τὴν σφῶν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν πάνοι καί τε καὶ πανγενῆς σωτηρίαν: that abundance of considerable Persons for their Nobility and Wealth, came over, with their whole Families and Relations, *Euseb. l.* 15. *c.* 21.

Certain it is, that the number of Christians at *Rome* was proportionably greater than in any part of the Empire, for thither they fled for Refuge in times of Persecution, and shelter'd themselves in a crowd; and if *Tertullian*'s account of the state of the Christians in his time, makes it very probable that they made the better half of the *Roman* Empire; if he boasts of multitudes, and say that they had possessed themselves of the City and Countrey, and every place was full of them but the Temples, if they did in a manner besiege the Heathen in every part, and were more beneficial to the Publick, by the consumption of all sorts of Commodities, and made Use of more Frankincense in One Street, than the Heathen did in any one Temple; it is evident that they were the *major* part every where, but in *Rome* more eminently so. See this urg'd farther by Mr. *Dodwel*, in his Letter to Mr. *B.*

Towards the middle of the Third Century, they received a considerable Increase from the Countenance of *Alexander Severus*, the greatest part

part of whose Family (and that alone would make a good Congregation) were Christians, and this Favourer of Christianity reigned thirteen years. Towards the latter end of that Age, their condition was most flourishing, and all the World, in a manner, had receiv'd the Faith; let us observe in what glorious Expressions *Eusebius* represents the Church before the Persecution of *Diocletian*, who (sayes he) *can describe μυριάνδρους ἐπισυναγωγὰς, their full and innumerable Assemblies, and the multitude of their Meetings in every City*: So that by this time, not onely in *Rome*, but almost in every City, the Christians had several Congregations. *Valesius*, tho he corrects the old Translator, yet it seems did not fully comprehend the meaning of this place, nor see the Elegancy of *Eusebius*'s Gradation; for first, he represents the many thousands that came together to make a Congregation, then the number of such Assemblies, that there were several of them, and at last mentions the Places that receiv'd them, that there was no Church, no Chappel, no Oratory, but was full in those dayes. About this time, or not long after, *Rome* had above forty Churches, which we must not imagine to be built all at the same time, but by degrees, according as the number of Believers did require, and in all probability, there must be more than one or two, even in the first and second Century. And now I have mention'd this, it will not be amiss to clear that Passage of *Optatus* about these forty Churches, from the Exceptions of

Euseb. l. 6. c. 21. 28.

Euseb. l. 8. c. 1. *τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀθροισμάτων.*

Optat. Mil. l. 2. contra Parmen.

Blondel, whom **Mr. B.** follows in his mistake. *Optatus* in that place traces the *Donatists* of *Rome* to their first Original: If *Macrobius*, says he, were demanded whom he succeeds, he must needs confess it is to *Eucolpius*; if *Eucolpius* be ask'd in whose Chair he sits? he must say, where *Bonifacius Ballitanus* sate before him; and he, where *Victor Garbiensis*, who was the first *Donatist* Bishop in *Rome*, and there the Succession ends, he having none to succeed to, *Filius sine Patre, Tyro sine Principe, Hospes sine Hospitio, Pastor sine Grege, Episcopus sine Populo, non enim Populus aut Grex appellandi fuerant pauci qui intra quadraginta & quod excurrit basilicas locum ubi colligerent non haberent.* It is plain then, that *Optatus* does not speak of the state of *Rome* as it was in his own time, but of *Victor Garbiensis*, the first *Donatist* Bishop; when this was, is not easie to fix.

There is no greater Argument for a great number of Congregations under the Bishop of *Rome*, than what **Mr. B.** observes of their Churches before *Dioclesian*'s time, that they were but like our Tabernacles, as to the capaciousness, I suppose, as well as the manner of their Structure, and therefore the lesser they were, the greater Number there must be of them, and the Church must grow too big for his Definition, since there must be more than could in those circumstances, have personal Communion in Doctrine and Worship.

Prefeb. l. 8.

When the Diocess of *Rome* is reduced within the narrow Bounds of a single Congregation, what other Church can pretend to more? And

And if the Imperial City need not be excepted, *Alexandria* cannot hope for Exemption, therefore he proceeds to ſhew that *Alexandria* the greateſt and moſt populous City in the World, next to *Rome*, had no more Chriſtians than could meet together in one Congregation; and of this he offers a bold Proof, that it was ſo in the time of *Athanaſius*, whoſe words he cites, where he excuſes himſelf for having celebrated *Eaſter* in the great Church of *Alexandria*, and drawn together ſuch a multitude as gave great occaſion of Jealouſie to the Emperour; but his Plea is, that the other Churches were ſo narrow, that they would have been in danger of ſuffering by the crowd: and as if this Church would have held all the People, he adds, that it was better for the whole Multitude to meet in the Great Church, and to have the concurrence of the people with one Voice, *&c.* This Church was newly built by *Conſtantius*, and we may ſuppoſe it very large, though not yet ſo great as to be able to contain all the Believers in *Alexandria*; nor does Mr. *B.* deſire it ſhould, but only the Generality: yet granting that it received all, it would follow indeed, that the Church of *Alexandria* then was but one Congregation: but what was it before this great Church was built, when they had no poſſibility of perſonal Communion, were not they then made congregational Churches under one Biſhop? And *Athanaſius* in the ſame place confeſſes the multitude was ſo great, that all the other Churches in the City could

Athan. T. 1. p. 531.

Ch. Hiſt. 9.

Ch. Hiſt. p. 10.

not

not hold it. Besides the Orthodox were probably much more numerous before the building of that Church, and the Banishment of *Athanasius*; and if this vast Fabrick could not receive the party of *Athanasius*, what Church shall we imagine could have been large enough for all the Christians in *Alexandria* before they were divided by *Arrius*, and before they were governed by *Gregory* and *George* the *Arrian* Bishops?

P. 10 § 30. He adds to this of *Athanasius*, another Argument given him by a learned Friend, which I will take the liberty to examine: *The City of* Alexandria, *says* Strabo, *is like a Souldiers Cloak &c. and by Computation, about ten Miles in Compass; a third or forth part of this was taken up with publick Buildings, Temples, and Royal Palaces; thus is two Miles and a half, or three and a quarter taken up.*] I will not say, this learned Friend has impos'd on Mr. *B.* but there is a very great Mistake betwixt them; suppose Temples and Royal Palaces should take up such a part of the City, must there therefore be no Inhabitants in those Palaces, or no Christians amongst those Inhabitants? *But he believes this to be that Region call'd* Bruchium, *which* Epiphanius *speaks of in his time as destitute.* What? all the publick Buildings of the Town in one Region, and that an outer Skirt too? as it is described by the *Greek* Martyrology in *Hilarion*, Εἰς τὸ χωρίον πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρείας μεταφοιτᾷ. And in the Life *of Apollonius Discolus*, ᾤκει ὃ ἐν τῇ προαστείῳ περὶ τὸν δρόμον, ἐν τύπῳ ω

τόπω οὕτω καλουμένω περὶ τὴν Αληξανδρείαν ἔνθα καὶ ἐτάφη. This *Epiphanius* ſays, was deſtitute of Inhabitants in his time, and not unlikely, and perhaps, deſtitute of publick Buildings too; for it was deſtroyed after an obſtinate Siege in the reign of *Aurelian*, as *Ammianus Marcellinus*, or of *Claudius*, as *Euſebius* would have it. However, the City muſt be reckon'd by ſo much the leſs, neither is there any Neceſſity of this; for they might enlarge upon another Quarter, being, it may be, forbid to build in *Bruchium*, becauſe it was divided from the reſt of the City, and too favourable a Refuge of Rebellion, to which that People was too much addicted; they might dwell cloſer than before, and ſo their Multitude be undiminiſht. However, certain it is, that this City long after the Deſtruction of *Bruchium* retainrd it's ancient Greatneſs, and is repreſented by no Writer, as diminiſht either in Number or Wealth; but to let this paſs, let us ſee what becomes of the reſt, he adds, *A great part of the City was aſſign'd to the* Jews, *ſo* Strabo *indefinitely, as* Joſephus *quotes him; others tell us more punctually, that their Share was two of the five Diviſions* (Uſh. Annals p. 859.) *though many of them had their Habitations in the other Diviſions, yet they had two fifth parts entire to themſelves* (which he might have found as punctually in *Strabo*, as in Biſhop *Uſher*) *and this* (continues he) *is I ſuppoſe the* τόπος ἴδιος, *which* Joſephus *ſays, the Succeſſors of* Alexander *ſet apart for them; thus we ſee how ſix or ſeven Miles of the ten are diſpoſed of.*] And by the

l. 22.

In Chronico.

the ſame rule he might have diſpoſed of all at once, and concluded out of *Strabo*'s Diviſion of the Town, that there was not one Chriſtian it it: For *Strabo* liv'd in *Auguſtus* his time, when it was a hard matter to find a Chriſtian in *Alexandria*, unleſs we will take in *Juſtin Martyr*'s old Chriſtians, ſuch as *Socrates*, *i. e.* all virtuous good men; and then I am afraid, they would be too few to make a Congregation. The number of theſe Jews was much leſſened within a little while after *Strabo*, by an Inſurrection of the *Alexandrians* againſt them; the Civil Wars afterwards under *Trajan* and his Succeſſor had almoſt extirpated them; and yet even at this time, *Alexandria* was as populous as ever, and frequented by almoſt all the Nations of the Earth, as *Dion Chryſoſtomus* repreſents the flouriſhing State of it in his time: but no matter what number of *Jews* or *Heathens* it had in *Strabo*'s days, the Queſtion is, whether many of both were not converted to the Chriſtian Faith, and that very early.

Ibid. *There remains now but three or four miles to be diſpoſed of between the Heathens and the Chriſtians*, and much the leſſer part will fall to the ſhare of the latter: 'tis kindly done, to provide for the Chriſtians before they were in Being: ſurely, *Strabo* who makes the Diſtribution, and Biſhop *Uſher* who cites it out of him, never intended the Chriſtians one Foot of ground in all that Diviſion; and this learned Friend might have ſpared his little Town of eight or ten Furlongs, which he ſo liberally beſtows

beſtows upon the Biſhop of *Alexandria* before our Saviour was born.

What he adds about *Alexander* and *Meletius* I wonder it could eſcape him, there being nothing more notorious, than that *Alexandria* had now ſeveral fixt Pariſhes, or λαῦραι, and every one govern'd under the Biſhop, and by it's proper Presbyter, and his remark upon two Biſhops living quietly in *Alexandria*, is ſo diſingenious a Suggeſtion, that he has reaſon to be aſhamed of it: for while *Miletius* lived quietly, and did not ſet up Altar againſt Altar, all was well; but a little before his Death, the ſchiſmatical Humour returned upon him again, and he ordain'd Prieſts and other Church-officers, every where, in Oppoſition to *Alexander*, he may find as many or more Biſhops living peaceably in *London*, though there be but one Biſhop of the place, as there was in *Alexandria*. p. 11. See Epiph. in Hares Miletian.

Now becauſe Mr. *B.* has endeavour'd to repreſent the Church of *Alexandria* ſo inconſiderable, even after *Conſtantine*'s days, it will not be impertinent to give the Reader a View of that Churches Greatneſs, even from the firſt Foundation of it. In St. *Mark*'s time, *Alexandria* had ſeveral Churches, though but one Biſhop, for that ſame *Evangeliſt* is ſaid to have preacht the Goſpel there firſt, and ἐκκλησίας τὲ πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλεξανδρείας συσήσασθαι, that is, to have founded ſeveral Churches or Congregations there; yet for all this the whole was but one παροικία in which *Annianus* ſucceeds Ἀγριανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται παροικίας. *Euſeb. l. 2. c. 16 Niceph. l. 2. c. 15. Euſeb. l. 2. c. 24.* Τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

St.

St. *Mark*; and *Euſebius*, in the Chapter before cited, tells us, that the number of Chriſtians was ſo great in *Alexandria*, even at the beginning, that *Philo* vouchſafes to take notice of them; but as for the *Eſſei*, which he there deſcribes, whether they were *Jews* or *Chriſtians*, it is not very material, though this is obſervable, not only of them, but of all the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, that their Principles had prepar'd them for Chriſtianity above all other People: for by their moralizing of the Law, and making Virtue and Holineſs to be the Deſign and meaning of all thoſe Obſervances; they were coming, as it were, to meet the Goſpel, and, like the Centurion our Saviour commends, were not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.

Vopiſc. in Saturn. In *Adrian*'s time, they were, it ſeems, ſo conſiderable, as not only to be mention'd by that Emperour, but to be ſet at the Head of all the Sects of Religion in *Alexandria*, and they are named firſt: for that Emperour in his Letter to *Servianus*, reproaching the *Egyptians* with inconſtancy and lightneſs, ſayes, *thoſe that worſhip Serapis are Chriſtians*; and there are that call themſelves the Biſhops of the Chriſtians, that devote themſelves to *Serapis*; all theſe, it ſeems, were Chriſtians by inclination, though ſometimes they were forc'd by the *Egyptians* to worſhip their Gods; for he that has the leaſt tincture of Chriſtianity, can have no great Devotion for *Serapis*:--- and *ibid.* *the Patriarch himſelf, when he comes into* Egypt, *is forc'd by ſome to worſhip* Serapis, *by others, to*

to worſhip Chriſt. It is not material to our purpoſe, whether this *Patriarch* were Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as *Caſaubon* and *Salmaſius* will have him, or rather the chief Governour of the *Jews*, called ἐθνάρχης by *Claudius*, and ἐθνάρχης by *Philo*; it is enough that the Chriſtians then were ſo powerful as to be able to oblige him to worſhip Chriſt: there is no doubt but that *Adrian* does the Chriſtians wrong in this point, for they never forc'd any to their Religion, not after they were uppermoſt, unleſs we ſhould judge thoſe of *Alexandria* to be more violent than the reſt; however, this Account certainly repreſents them as very conſiderable, and equal to any Sect or Religion in *Alexandria*.--- *Unus illis Deus eſt, Hunc Chriſtiani, Hunc Judæi omnes venerantur & Gentes.* *Salmaſius* underſtands *Serapis* by this one God. *Caſaubon* looks upon this Paſſage as ſpurious, and added afterwards by a Chriſtian hand in the Margin; from thence, by an ignorant Scribe, transferr'd into the Text. But, 'tis moſt probable, that that one God, which the Chriſtians and Jews are ſaid in the firſt place to adore, is the true God, which both worſhip'd, although after different manner. And now, by the preaching of the Chriſtians, the greateſt part of the *Alexandrians* might poſſibly be brought over, if not to a perfect Acknowledgment, yet to ſome Veneration and Eſteem of the true God.

Joſephus Antiqu. l. 19. 4.

The great Catechiſts of *Alexandria*, as *Panteus*, *Clemens*, *Origen*, and *Heracles*, did not a little advance the growth of Chriſtian Religion

gion in that place, and *Origen*'s School particularly was ſo frequented, one Company coming ſtill after another, from Morning till Night, that he had hardly time to take breath, and was forc'd to take *Heraclas* into his Aſſiſtance, to inſtruct the more ignorant ſort.

Dionyſius, who gives an account of *Valerian*'s Perſecution in *Egypt*, repreſents the Chriſtians, as well of *Alexandria* as of other Cities, extraordinary numerous; the concourſe of them to him when he was baniſh'd to *Chebron*, was ſo great, that he was forc'd πλατύτερον ἐκκλησιάζειν, and afterwards, when he was removed from thence to *Coluthio*, which was nearer *Alexandria*, he comforts himſelf with this, that thoſe of his Flock could come to him, and ſtay with him, and meet there in ſeveral Congregations, as it were in remoter Suburbs. *Valeſius* obſerves from hence, that Suburbs, that is, in this ſenſe, Villages of the dependance of any City, had their particular Congregation, and were not obliged to come to the City Church, which he believes was but one, even in *Alexandria*, in *Dionyſius*'s time, but how that is deducible from this paſſage, I cannot ſee.

Euſeb. l. 7. c. 12. Καὶ ὡς ἐν πρωαστείοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις, κατὰ μέρος ἐσόνται συνάγοται.

Euſeb. l. 8. Under the Perſecution of *Diocleſian*, what numbers of Chriſtians might be at *Alexandria*, may be judged by the multitude of Martyrs that ſuffer'd at *Thebes*: *Euſebius* was an Eyewitneſs of what he relates concerning them; he ſaw great multitudes ſuffer together, ſome dayes ten, ſome twenty, ſome ſixty, and ſometimes

times an hundred, and this continued not for a few dayes onely, or a ſhort ſpace of time, but for ſeveral years.

The diviſion of *Alexandria* between ſeveral Presbyters, as it were into ſo many Pariſhes, although it be not mention'd before *Arrius*'s time, who was the fixt Miniſter of one of them, call'd *Buchalis*, are to be ſuppoſed to have been inſtituted before; for *Epiphanius*, though he obſerve this as ſingular in the *Alexandrian* Church at that time, yet ſays nothing at all of its Novelty, which he would not probably have omitted: and *Sozomen* ſeems to imply, that it was an ancient Cuſtom. *Petavius* miſtakes *Epiphanius*'s his words, and imagines, that theſe Diviſions of *Alexandria* are therefore ſaid by him to be ſingular, and different from the Uſage of other Churches; becauſe, ſays he, thoſe which *Epiphanius* had ſeen were but ſmall, and might have but one Congregation, but it is plain from *Epiphanius* his words, that what he look'd upon as ſingular, was not their having ſeveral diſtinct Aſſemblies, but becauſe they had certain and fix'd Presbyters; and therefore he adds, as an Effect of that Cuſtom, that every one would be denominated from his Paſtor, as the *Corinthians* did, when one cry'd, I am of *Paul*, I am of *Apollos*: and this indeed was ſo ſingular, that perhaps no other Church in the World had it beſides, not that of *Rome*; and *Valeſius* infers from the ſame Paſſage of Pope *Innocent*'s Epiſtle to *Decentius*, which *Petavius* brings to prove the contrary, that although there were ſeveral Ti-

Epiphan. Hæreſ. Meliet. & Arrian.

Soz. l. 1. c. 15.

in Epiph.

Valeſ. Annot. in Socrat. l. 1. c. 15.

tles or Churches in *Rome* then, and had been long before, yet none of them was as yet appropriated to any Presbyter, but they were ſerved in common, as greater Cities in *Holland* and ſome other Reformed Countries, that have ſeveral Churches and Miniſters, who preach in them all by their turns.

Laſtly, and to conclude this account of the Church of *Alexandria*, it is evident out of *Athanaſius*, how the Biſhop of that City had from the Beginning ſeveral fix'd Congregations under him; particularly thoſe of *Mareotes*, who, though they muſt be ſuppos'd to receive the Faith almoſt as early as *Alexandria*, yet never had a Biſhop before *Iſchyras*, (if he were to be reckon'd one.) [*Mareotes*, ſays Athanaſius, *is a Countrey belonging to* Alexandria, *wherein there never was a Biſhop, not ſo much as a* Chorepiſcopus, *but all the Churches of that place were ſubject to the Biſhop of* Alexandria. And now let the Reader judge, whether the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had more Congregations than one under him, or no more than could conveniently meet in one place.

Athan. T. 1. p. 802.

I have hitherto examin'd Mr. *B*'s Evidence of Hiſtory for his Congregational Churches: let us now ſee whether there be not as good Evidence to the contrary.

The growth of the Church of *Jeruſalem* was ſo ſudden, and ſo great, as to exceed the meaſure of one or two Congregations. St. *Peter*'s firſt Sermon brought over three thouſand, another five thouſand; then the Sacred Hiſtorian, as if the Multitude had grown too great

Acts 2. 41.

to

to be numbred, mentions the other Acceſſions in groſs and indefinitely, but with ſuch Expreſſions as imply, they much exceed the numbers aforementioned: *Multitudes both of Men and Women were added to the Church, and the number of the Diſciples multiplyed in* Jeruſalem *greatly, and a great number of the Prieſts were obedient to the Faith*, Act. 6. 7. Now let us ſeriouſly conſider, whether all theſe Converts could meet together in one place, for perſonal Communion, Doctrine and Worſhip, or whether they could find a room ſpacious enough to meet in all together; we find but two ſorts of places they met in, the Temple, and from Houſe to Houſe; the Temple cannot be ſuppoſed the ordinary place of their Aſſembly, ſince the generality of the Prieſts and People did oppoſe them; and though the Apoſtles preacht there, it was no otherwiſe than they did in the Synagogues and Market-places, and other places of concourſe, to gain new Proſelytes, and not to inſtruct thoſe they had converted: when they preacht from Houſe to Houſe, the fifth or tenth part of them can hardly be ſuppoſed to have convenience for perſonal Communion: and it is certain, they did break Bread no otherwiſe than *from Houſe to Houſe*, from whence it is plain, that it was not poſſible for them all to hold perſonal Communion in the principal part of Chriſtian Worſhip, *i. e.* the holy Euchariſt, which is made by Mr. *B.* as neceſſary to the Individuation of a Church as Communion in Doctrine. The Preſbyterians preſt this Inſtance very unmercifully

upon those of the congregational way, who made use of all Shifts, and most of them very poor ones. To elude the force of the Argument, sometimes they turn the Temple into a Church, another while they send the greatest part of them home to the country, and whatsoever other means they could find to diminish their number, they laid hold of them; and this way not succeeding in their own Opinion, they found a Secret in the Ayr, which they fancied to be much more pure, and shine in *Jerusalem*, than our *Northern* Climates, and so more proper to convey a Voice to a greater Distance; whereas, our dull unyielding Fog, arrests the Voice in every point, as it passes. However, the Assembly of Divines resolved they would not be paid with this piece of Philosophy, and undertook to shew the Argument to be as thin as the Ayr they talkt of; and the Lord *Bacon* relieves them in this Distress, who was of Opinion, that a Voice could be heard much farther in a gross than a pure Ayr, the Resistance perhaps preserving it longer, as Opposition serves, to lengthen a Discourse, and to make Disputes endless; but Mr. *B.* in his first Disputation of Church-Government summing up the Exceptions of the Independents against the Presbyterian Argument, drawn from the Church of *Jerusalem*, prudently leaves out this of the Ayr, but finds another Expedient as proper for his purpose; and that is, that men had much stronger Voices in those times and places, which they may believe that can fancy Nature to decay, and that

Grand Debate. Answer of the Assembly, to the Reasons of the dissenting Br. p. 27.

Ibid.

. 81. 82. but in the second part of Ch. Hist. takes it up again.

that our Fore-fathers were Giants. For my part the next thing I expect is, that they ſhould believe with *Kirker* that the Ancients knew the uſe of Sir *Samuel Morland*'s ſpeaking-trumpet, for *Kirker* had a Viſion of ſome old Manuſcript that no body elſe ever ſaw, which revealed to him, that *Alexander* the Great could ſpeak to his whole Army together, by the help of a Trumpet; and who can tell, but in this vaſt Congregation of *Jeruſalem*, ſuch an Engine might be made uſe of? However, ſince Dioceſes are to be no larger than the Sphear of a man's Voice, it will be an uſeful Inſtrument to a Preacher, of weak Lungs, to ſtretch out the Bounds of his Dioceſs, and be as ſerviceable to the Church as it is to the Camp.

Diſp. of Ch. Gov. *p.* 81.

But Mr. *B.* tells us one thing more which a Friend told him, which I wonder as much, he ſhould believe, as that he be ſatisfied with another Friend's Computation of the Chriſtians in *Alexandria* in *Strabo*'s time: 'tis in ſhort this, That he, though his Voice was none of the lowdeſt, yet he preacht to a Congregation judg'd to be about ten thouſand men, and that they all hear'd him; I am afraid that this Friends Calculation exceeds as much as the other falls ſhort; for we reckon now, that three thouſand makes an extraordinary Congregation, and it may be poſſible for a mighty Voice to ſpeak to a thouſand more, but it may be, that the World is degenerated ſince, and that our Lungs are no more in Compariſon with thoſe of the times he ſpeaks of, than they were compared to thoſe of the *Eaſtern* Preachers.

2 part of Ch. Hiſt. in one place he has but 6000. but in another he comes up again to 10000.

At last, to make sure work, he concludes that though *Jerusalem* might have many Assemblies and yet but one Church, and after the dispersing of the Apostles, but one Bishop, yet this is no Precedent; This I must needs say, is something more than the Independents would adventure to say, they minced the matter and told us, that *Jerusalem* being the first born Church, and nursed up by the joynt care of all the Apostles might arrive to an extraordinary Stature, and look gigantick, in Comparison of the rest, yet they durst not say it had more than one Congregation, and was no Precedent: What shall we judge then? That the Apostles built the Church of *Jerusalem* after one model, and those of other Cities after another, or if they did, surely they were both lawful; does that overthrow the Church and Discipline of Christ's Institution, that is, according to the practice of his own Apostles? Or can a Conformity to the Discipline of the Mother-church of *Jerusalem*, become in it's self a Sin? Wherein shall we be saved if the Imitation of the Apostles do not secure us?

p. 81. & 82.

But Mr. *B.* says, the Office of a Bishop supposes him to have no more than one Congregation, since he must hold personal Communion with all, in Preaching, and Administration of the Sacraments, visiting the Sick, relieving the Poor, and the like: but must all these Acts be performed by himself in Person? Must he have no Assistance? Is nothing to be done within his Congregation, without his Presence? May not he do all this occasionally,

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as the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts did, and yet appoint Elders for the ordinary and conſtant Performance of the Miniſtry, whom he ſhall ſuperviſe and direct? It is very ſtrange, that the Biſhops ſhould have been ſo many hundred years in an Office, which it was impoſſible for them to diſcharge, and yet this be never diſcover'd by themſelves or others.

Every Biſhop had Presbyters in the firſt times, and if he were ſo indiſpenſably oblig'd to do all himſelf, what uſe were they of?

However, the generality of Biſhops (you ſay) for a long while after the Apoſtles, had but one Congregation to govern; what then? If all the Believers in and about a City, would hardly make a Congregation, that is, to be aſcribed to the Condition of thoſe times, and not to be reckon'd eſſential to the Office: all things have their Beginning, but are not confin'd to the Meaſures of their Infancy; and if the Beginnings of the Church were but ſmall, even the greateſt Cities, it cannot be a prejudice to the Governour of it, if the number of Believers ſhould increaſe, ſince they are appointed in *Clemens* Opinion, for the Government not only of thoſe that have already, but of ſuch as ſhall afterwards believe.

Ep. ad Corinth.

The Practice of the univerſal Church, is evidently on our ſide, for who has ever heard of two Biſhops in one City, though it were never ſo great, unleſs in time of Schiſm: and it is ſtrange, when the number of Believers did encreaſe beyond all Poſſibility of perſonal Communion, that none ſhould ever diſcern the neceſſity of dividing into ſeveral Churches, and learn this Wiſdom from the Example of Bees; *But the Biſhops of* Rome *and* Alexandria *by their*

Affectation of Empire, became evil Examples to others by their first Corruption of Church Discipline. It is ſtrange then, that among all the Quarrels of the Biſhops, and in all their Accuſations of one another, that this Crime of ſo high a Nature, ſhould never be objected, that no good man could never complain of this Corruption, that there ſhould never be laid to their Charge this uſurping of Authority over whole Cities and multitudes of Congregations. But ſuppoſing this an Uſurpation in the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, how is it credible, that all the great Cities in the World ſhould be carryed away with their Example? that there ſhould be not one honeſt Biſhop left, that underſtood the nature of his Office, or the juſt bounds of his Dioceſs? Or ſuppoſe the Biſhops ſo far prejudiced with ſelf-Intereſt as to have neglected a Duty that redounded ſo much to the Diminution of their Power, yet were the People who in thoſe times had ſome part in their Election, ignorant of this great Secret, would not they right themſelves, and not have ſuffer'd their ſeveral Congregations to become Chappelries, *&c.* Dependencies upon the Biſhops Church? Would not they have govern'd themſelves, rather than become, as it were, a Province to the Biſhop; or if the People were ignorant of this, was there no Prieſt that was ambitious enough to be Biſhop, that could inform them of their Right, in Expectation that they would be grateful to the Diſcoverer of their Priviledges. And laſtly, was there no Schiſmatick learned enough to juſtifie

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his ſetting up of an Altar againſt an Altar, by this Argument, that there were more Believers than could hold perſonal Communion with the Biſhops Altar; that there was work enough for more Biſhops than one, and that in populous Cities there ought to be ſeveral Churches: yet they were all ſo dull, as never to think of this way, but on the contrary, every one pretended, that there ought to be but one Biſhop in a City, and that himſelf had the Right, and the other was the Uſurper.

In ſhort, ſince the Nature of the Church requires, that it ſhould ſwarm, when Believers grew too numerous for one Aſſembly, and ſend out new Colonies under Independant-officers, Is it not very ſtrange, that it ſhould ſo far forget it's Nature, as never to have done this, and to leave not one poor inſtance, upon whoſe Authority, the Independency of Congregations might relye? It is upon this, that the preſent Queſtion turns, and not whether Biſhops at firſt had but ſingle Congregations; for if there were no more Believers within, or belonging to the City, they could have no more; but after they were multiplyed into ſeveral Congregations, ſtill they had but one Biſhop: and Mr. *B.* does not as much as pretend to any Evidence of Hiſtory to the contrary, unleſs it be, when the Church was divided by Schiſm.

I thought my ſelf obliged to conſider Mr. *B*'s Notion of a Church and Epiſcopacy, as it lyes ſcatter'd in his firſt Chapter, and explain'd more at large in his firſt Diſputation of Church Government; partly becauſe he inſiſts ſo much upon

upon it, and bends the whole course of his History to favour it as much as is possible; partly, because he makes it a plea to justifie his Railings against Bishops and Councils, as if those he dishonoured in this History, had departed from the ancient use of Church Government and Discipline; and their Usurpation had drawn after it all those evil Consequences and Calamities, which he relates throughout this Book. It is time now to enter upon his History, and to examine how truly and how fairly he has represented the Actions of Bishops and Councils, I shall go along with him as far as the end of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and endeavour to vindicate the Reputation of the four first general Councils, which our Church receives, from those injurious Representations which Mr. *B.* has made of them in his History.

In the next place, I shall endeavour to shew how little Truth there is in that general Accusation which this History is intended to make out, that Bishops have been the Authors of all Heresies, Schisms, and Corruptions: Thirdly, that the way to remedy this, is not by multiplying Bishops, and that this Expedient is so far from being the Cure of Church Divisions, that nothing has contributed more to widen the Breach, and to render Peace and Concord impossible within any considerable Compass. Fourthly, That though Bishops and Councils have been guilty of great Miscarriages, they ought not to be imputed to the Order, but the Men; and if Bishops brought in several Corruptions

ruptions as well in Doctrine as Diſcipline after the four general Councils; Biſhops have likewiſe reformed the Church from them, and have maintained, and do ſtill maintain and juſtifie their Reformation. Laſtly, that latter models of Church-Governments without Biſhops have been ſubject to all the Miſcarriages that are charg'd upon the Biſhops, and have not been able to prevent or remedy the Miſchiefs of Hereſies and Schiſms, and that the Independent model is of all other, the moſt unlikely to remedy theſe Miſchiefs, and is juſtly charg'd by the Presbyterians to have given the occaſion to all thoſe Confuſions in Religion, thoſe monſtrous Doctrines and endleſs Separations, under which we ſtill labour, and almoſt deſpair to ſee a Remedy for them.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Hereſies and the firſt Councils.

Ch. Hiſt. c. 2. p. 28, 29, 30.

THE deſign of general Councils being chiefly to preſerve the Unity of the Faith, and to reject and diſcredit all ſuch dangerous doctrines as appear deſtructive of the fundamental Principles of Religion: Mr. *B.* thought fit before he enter'd upon the Hiſtory of theſe Councils, to give us ſome account of Errors which they were deſigned to remedy: his Diſcourſe is very favourable to the Miſtakes of men, [and conſidering the common Frailty, it is but fit that we ſhould forbear, (as far as is poſſible) with each others Infirmities] yet ſtill there are ſuch Errors as are not to be endured, and corrupt the very Vitals of Chriſtianity: theſe when they were obſtinately maintained, were ſtigmatized by the Church, with the name of Hereſies, a word which Mr. *B.* has no Fancy to, and yet St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* made uſe of it to ſignifie the worſt and moſt dangerous ſort of Errors, and ſuch as are not to be tolerated within the Communion of the Church. It is Saint *Paul*'s charge to his Son *Titus*, an Heretick after the firſt and ſecond Admonition, reject; and reckoning up the works of the Fleſh that excluded from Salvation, he puts in Hereſie: and St. *Peter*, to render it the more frightful, joyns with it the Epithete of damnable, ſaying, that wicked men ſhould come, who ſhould

Tit. 3. 10.

Galat. 5. 12.

2 *Pet.* 1. 1.

ſhould bring in damnable Hereſies. Now, ſince we are warned before hand, that Hereſies there muſt be, that wicked men will endeavour to introduce wicked Doctrines, the Church would be left in an evil condition, had it been provided with no Authority, no means to remedy thoſe Miſchiefs that would certainly overthrow the very Foundations of that Faith, upon which it was built: Now, what defence ſhall ſhe make againſt theſe Aſſaults? Arms ſhe has none, but Prayers and Tears, and even thoſe may return empty; if the Heretick will be perverſe, and obſtinately fortifie himſelf in his Errors: muſt ſhe then ſuffer this Cancer to eat up her very bowels? is there no way of ſtopping the Progreſs of this Plague, or to interpoſe between the ſound and the infective? Surely, it cannot be left ſo deſtitute, ſo forlorn, ſo helpleſs: there is nothing of Nature or Society but has ſome means as well as Inclination, to preſerve it ſelf; and the Church being a Society united upon the Terms of a common Faith and Charity, muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſo much Power within it ſelf, as to refuſe the Uſe and Benefit of it's Communion, to ſuch as violate the Terms upon which they are aſſociated, corrupt the Doctrine, deſtroy Holineſs, and indanger the Attainments of the ends and Benefits of Religion, not only to themſelves, but to thoſe that converſe with them. They had Power to reject a Hereſie, to put away from them wicked Perſons, and to refuſe to receive into, or ſhut out of their Communion ſuch as would

not

not ſubmit to the Laws of their Society. The great condition of their Admiſſion into the Church, was a Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith, and they had no right to remain in it any longer than they kept up to that Profeſſion; if they brought in Doctrines that were inconſiſtent with it, and did perſevere in their miſtakes, uſing all endeavours to propagate them, it is but juſt and equal, it is but natural that ſuch ſhould be turn'd out of the Fellowſhip of the Church, and it is but reaſonable, after a ſad experience of the miſchiefs that attend theſe Doctrines, to endeavour to prevent the like for the future, by guarding diligently the Entrances of the Church, and by taking Security of ſuch as enter into it; and if not of all ſuch as enter into it, yet, at leaſtwiſe, of thoſe that are admitted to teach or govern the People, that they will not revive thoſe dangerous Doctrines.

'Tis this that Mr. *B.* finds ſo much fault with, and aſcribes all the miſchiefs that have befallen the Church, to an ignorant zeal againſt Hereſie: There is no doubt but this has been the occaſion of great Calamities, the greateſt Heretick's perſecuting the Truth under the name
p. 31. of Hereſie: the *Arrians* were exceeding violent
§. 15. againſt the Orthodox Believers, and uſed all
p. 32. manner of Cruelties to reduce them from the right way, which they called Hereſie; they, on the other ſide, returned the infamous name, though not the barbarous treatment, upon their Enemies; and what ſhall we infer from hence? that there is no Hereſie, becauſe Truth is ſometimes

times ſo miſcall'd, that no Doctrines are damnable, becauſe men have condemned one another for ſome that are not ſo? Is there no Truth, becauſe Contradictions lay claim to it? and becauſe that every man honours his miſtake, under ſpecíouſneſs of that Title; for all theſe confuſions of terms, the things are the ſame, and a real Hereſie is damnable and ought to be reproved, and caſt out of the Church, nothwithſtanding, that under this pretence the greateſt Truths have been diſcredited.

Mr. *B.* gives ſuch an account of thoſe Controverſies that exerciſed the four firſt General Councils, as ſeems in great meaſure to excuſe thoſe Hereſies which were condemn'd by them, and to blame their condemnation, calling the Biſhops, in deriſion, *Hereticators* and *Damners*, becauſe they pronounced *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Neſtorius*, &c. Hereticks, men of dangerous Principles, and not to be tolerated in the Communion of the Church; yet, for all this, I belive Mr. *B*'s own Rule will abſolve them; for, in his Book called, *The true and only way of Concord*, he makes a Catalogue of ſuch Errours, which men ought to be reſtrain'd from preaching and propagating: now all thoſe Errours condemn'd by the four firſt General Councils, are laid down there, not only in the Senſe, but in the very Terms they were condemn'd in; theſe Doctrines are by him own'd to be dangerous, and by no means to be ſuffered to be preach'd. But what if men grow incorrigible, and will preach them, notwithſtanding theſe Prohibitions and Reſtraints? pag. 291. & ſeq.

his

his Resolution is very moderate, that every one should not be ejected or silenced, that holdeth or preacheth any one such Errour what then? must he be suffer'd to propagate the Infections, and to teach these Opinions that are so confessedly dangerous? nor that neither; for there follows such an Exception in this Toleration, as wholly overthrows it; for those are to be cast out, who, *consideratis considerandis*, are found to do more harm than good: Now, what if the Orthodox Bishops did find that, *consideratis considerandis*, those Hereticks they condemned, did more hurt than good, that they destroy'd with one hand much more than they edified with the other; and that the propagating of one of these dangerous Doctrines was not compensated by all the other Truths that they preach'd; there is no variety of wholsom food can countervail the Mischiefs of one envenom'd bit; and that Physician is not to be trusted that puts in any one dangerous Ingredient, though the rest of the Composition were very innocent, and this was the Rule they went by; the Hereticks in their Opinions were dangerous men, they were obstinate in their Opinions, industrious in propagating them, and were mostly upon the vindication of these controverted Doctrines: it was therefore necessary, since they did more hurt than good, that they should be cast out of the Church.

Nor is he less displeas'd with the Form than the Matter of this Condemnation, and therefore he gives the Bishops the Titles of *Hereti-*

cating,

cating, Curſing, Damning Biſhops; but what Antichriſtian words are theſe, that can move a *moderate, healing-man* to ſo great Indignation? *Anathema eſto*, is the uſual form of condemnation in Councils, which he ſo frequently calls *Curſing and Damning*, the word is St. *Paul's*, *If any one love not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, let him be Anathema-maran-atha*; and he had borrowed it from the *Jews*, which ſignifies no more than the ſeparation of any thing from common Uſe; and is uſed ſometimes in a good, ſometimes in a bad ſenſe. In the firſt, he denotes any thing conſecrated or devoted to God; in the latter, any thing which we abhorr, and ſeparate our ſelves from for fear of Pollution; ſo that the addition of it to thoſe Errours which they condemn is dangerous: As for Inſtance; If any man ſhall ſay, that there was a time when Chriſt was not, let him be *Anathema*, imports no more, than that we declare our abhorrence of ſuch Doctrines, and will have nothing common with thoſe that profeſs them; but Mr. *B.* I know not out of what Dictionary, tranſlates it, *God damn you*, and calls it the *Religion* of the *Biſhops* and their Councils; Nay, though this did imply ſo much, they may plead the Example of St. *Paul* even in that caſe, ſince they do no more than apply his general Sentence, which he repeats more than once, *If any man preach any other Goſpel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accurſed.* And, that you may not think that this other Goſpel does directly overthrow that which he had preach'd, and teach men

1 *Corinth.* 16. 22.

Gal. 1 9.

to deny and renounce our Saviour Jesus Christ; we must understand, that all this relates to the Legal Observances, which some would introduce into the Churches of *Galatia*, and their compliance with those Teachers, is by the same Apostle called, a *turning away unto another Gospel*; and the preaching of those men, the *Perverting of the Gospel*: and so warm is the same Apostle against those Disturbers of the Church, that he wishes that they were even *cut off which troubled them*: Yet the Councils did not go so far in their *Anathema*'s, they did but declare the Leprosie, as the Priest under the Law turn'd out the Diseas'd, and gave warning to all People of the danger of the Infection; and it was but fit that such should remain without the Camp till the Disease was heal'd, lest it should spread, and the whole Church become an Abomination and *Anathema* to him, whose Faith it had suffer'd to be corrupted.

chap. 5. 12.

This was the Design of the Bishops and their Councils; to this end they directed their *Anathema's*, and if they have not always met with the Success that were to be wish'd, we must not judge uncharitably, and undervalue or deride their Endeavours.

And now let us consider their Acts, and see what it is that they have done. The first Councils, about the time of the Observation of *Easter*, he passes over with only mentioning, for there is little of them remaining. Pope *Victor* was doubtless to be blam'd for endangering the Peace of the whole Church, upon so light an

Euseb. l. 5. c. 24.

an occasion; Whether *Victor* did actually excommunicate the Churches of *Asia*, or only threatned and endeavour'd to do it, is not very clear, from the Relation of *Eusebius*. *Valesius* is of opinion, and it seems the most probable, that this proceeded no farther than Letters of Accusation, which he sent to most Churches, to represent the *Asiaticks* as unworthy of Communion; but the generality of Bishops not approving it, and advising to Peace, it is likely the business went no farther; so Schism was avoided by the peaceable counsel and disposition of the Bishops. The *Councils* of *Carthage*, *Labese*, under *Agrippinus*, and that of *Arabia* under *Origen*, he does but just mention; that of *Rome*, after the death of *Fabian*, held by the *Roman* Clergy in the Vacancy, he makes some Remarks upon, that are grounded upon a mistake; for this is rather to be counted a Consultation than a Council; and, as if they had wanted Authority to determine any thing in that ticklish point of receiving the lapsed into Communion, they only agreed this, That nothing should be changed before the Election of their next Bishop, as appears by their Letter to the Clergy of *Carthage*; the Bishops that were here present, were such as came to assist and advise the *Roman* Clergy in a time of so great danger, and not to determine any thing authoritatively in Council, much less to be presided and govern'd by the *Roman* Presbyters.

Ch. Hist. p. 34.

Vales. in locum.

c. 2. p. 35.

ap. *Cypr. Ep.* 31.

After this, says he, *there was another Council in* Carthage, *two in* Rome, *and one in* Car- p. 36. § 25.

thage *about the ſame Controverſie.* Theſe he paſſes over very lightly, and the Schiſm that was the occaſion of ſome of them, becauſe it was impoſſible to charge it upon any Biſhop: *Cyprian* behaved himſelf like a prudent good man, and an indulgent Father, and yet all this could not prevent Schiſm and Conventicles; *Felicíſſimus*, Prieſt of *Carthage*, makes the firſt breach, whom Mr. *B.* miſtakes for *Feliciſſimus* §. 26. the *Deacon*, who joyn'd himſelf afterwards with *Novatus*, againſt the good Biſhop *Cyprian*. *Novatus*, an *African* Presbyter, improved this difference; and not content to diſturb his own Church, went to *Rome*, and kindled Diſcord and Diſſention there. *Baronius* would have this *Novatus* to be a *Biſhop*, becauſe he is ſaid by *Cyprian* to have ordained *Felicíſſimus* a Deacon; but it is plain, as well out of *Cyprian*, as the Chronicle of *Euſebius*, that he was but Prieſt. *Novatus Presbyter Cypriani* Ep. 49. *Romam veniens, &c.* ſaith *Euſebius*; and *Cyprian*, after he had ſhewed what manner of man he was, adds, that being conſcious of ſuch horrid Crimes, he muſt expect, *non à Presbyterio excitari tantum, ſed & Communione prohiberi*: and as for the Ordination of *Felicíſſimus*, *Cyprian* in the ſame Epiſtle ſhews it to have been done againſt all Rule and Order, becauſe, he ſays, that he did it, *nec permittente me nec ſciente*, but, *ſua factione & ambitione*: which plainly ſhews, that *Novatus* was *Cyprian*'s Presbyter, and ought not to have ordained a Deacon, unleſs it were in Conjunction with him, or by his Permiſſion

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whereas, if he had been a Biſhop, his right to the ordaining of Deacons would have been unqueſtionable. This was the Author of that Schiſm Mr. B. favours ſo much throughout his whole Hiſtory, and claims Kindred with them, as the *Puritans* and *Nonconformiſts* of thoſe Times; yet having known what manner of man he had been, he might have been aſhamed of ſuch a Progenitor, who, if *Cyprian* be to be believed, was always *reſtleſs, arrogant, proud, perfidious, a Flatterer, and an Incendiary, that carried a tempeſt with him whereſoever he went, and was a ſworn Enemy to Peace and Settlement; he robb'd the Orphans, cheated the Widows, purloin'd the Treaſures of the Church, he ſuffer'd his Father to ſtarve, and would not as much as bury him when dead; he kick'd his Wife, being great with Child, and cauſed ſudden Abortion:* and this was the great *Saint* and *Puritan*, that could find no Church, no Biſhop holy enough for his Communion; this was the ſevere Judge, that would not admit Repentance, and repreſented God cruel and implacable, as himſelf; for it was really his Opinion, as I ſhall ſhew in due place, that there was no pardon for the lapſed, no, not with God; and that Mr. B. miſtakes, when he affirms this Rigour to extend no farther than to refuſe an outward Reconciliation with the Church.

The next is another Council of *Carthage*, under *Cyprian*, where one *Victor* is condemned for making a Prieſt Guardian of his Children, and intangling a man devoted to the p. 36.

Service of the Altar, in the Affairs of this World. All that he has to except againſt this, is, the Rigor of the Sentence, that forbids his name to be mentioned in Prayer for the dead; and that there ſhould be no Oblation made for his Reſt: but this ſhews, that the ancient praying for the dead was intended rather as an honourable Remembrance of them, than any act of Charity toward the Soul departed; elſe it is not likely, ſo good and indulgent a man as St. *Cyprian* was, would have been ſo cruel in his Intentions, as to deprive a poor Soul of any Relief he had judg'd neceſſary for it.

p. 5. § 28. After this he gives a ſhort account of ſeveral Councils called upon the ſubject of Rebaptization of Hereticks, and here, to do him Right, he is juſt enough in his Remarks: The Generality of the World was for rebaptizing Hereticks, and conſidering what manner of men the firſt Hereticks were, it is probable they had Tradition as well as Reaſon on their ſide: However, Mr. *E.* endeavours fairly to excuſe theſe Differences, and ſpeaks of the Biſhops with Honour and reſpect, allowing them to be men of eminent Piety and Worth: Had he uſed the ſame Candour towards others, who were no leſs eminent, it would have been no Diſparagement to his Judgment or Sincerity, but his contrary unequal Dealing is not much for the Reputation of his Charity and Modeſty.

p. 4. § 29. There is a miſtake § 29. where he makes *Euſebius* to ſpeak that in his own Perſon, which he cites out of *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*.

The

That he does not condemn the rebaptizing of Hereticks, which was a Tradition of ſo great Antiquity. Euſeb. l. 7 c. 6.

The Councils of *Antioch* that condemn'd *Paulus Samoſatenus*, are in effect acquitted by Mr. *B.* when he acknowledges him, that was rejected by thoſe Councils, a *groſs Heretick.*

That infamous meeting of Traditors at *Cyrta*, was rather a Conſpiracy than a Council; and I am ſorry Mr. *B.* has not done that Right to the Catholick Church, as to ſhew who theſe men were. *Opatus Milev.* reproaches his Donatiſt Adverſary with theſe Progenitors; amongſt theſe was *Donatus Maſculitanus*, *Victor. Ruſicciadienſis*, *Marinus ab aquis Tibilitanis*, *Donatus Calumenſis*, and the Murtherer, *Purpurius Limatenſis*, the great Promoters of the Schiſm of the Donatiſts, and, as it were, the Apoſtles of that Sect; yet theſe men, tho they were confeſſed Traditors, became of ſo tender Conſciences ſoon after, as to abhor Communion with *Cecilianus*, becauſe he was ordained by *Felix*, whom they ſuſpected of the ſame Crime, that they had pardoned one another. The Church is ſo unconcerned with the crimes of theſe men, that they are in ſome meaſure her Vindication, they went out from us, becauſe they were not of us, and they left the Communion of the Church, becauſe their crimes made them deſpair of enjoying it. p. 36. § 37. A meeting of 12 evil men that were Biſhops. *lib.* 1. *contra* Parmen.

The next Council he mentions, is that of *Sinueſſa*, one of the moſt nonſenſical pieces of Forgery that ever I ſaw; three hundred Biſhops c. 2. § 38.

ſhops are ſaid to meet together, to judge Pope *Marcellinus*, and could find no better place than a Cave, where they could meet but fifty at a time; like the Prophets that were fed by *Obadiah* in the time of *Jezebel*'s Perſecution: and theſe Judges when they came together, durſt not be ſo preſumptuous as to judge a Pope, but deſired him to condemn himſelf; and when the poor man is perſwaded to paſs his own Sentence, *Melchiades* pronounces theſe Words, *Juſtè ore ſuo condemnatus eſt, nemo enim unquam judicavit Pontificem, nec præſul ſacerdotem ſuum, quoniam prima ſedes non judicatur à quoquam*: and yet for all this, Mr. *B.* declares, that *whether this be true or forg'd is too hard a Controverſie*: Juſt as hard as that concerning St. *Urſula* and her eleven thouſand Virgins, or the travelling Chappel of *Loretto*, or the Hiſtory of the ſeven Champions.

The Council of *Illiberis* follows next, that has many very good Canons, and ſome have need of a favourable Interpretation; it is very ſevere in ſome caſes, denying Communion even at the hour of Death; but this is not the thing which was condemn'd in the *Novatians*, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

The Council of *Carthage* follow'd, *that* p. 35 § 40. *began the Schiſm of the Donatiſts*, upon the occaſion of *Cecilianus* his Election; *Thus*, ſays he, *the doleful Tragedy of the* Donatiſts *began by Biſhops, divided about the* Carthage *Biſhop*. Tho it cannot be denyed, but that Biſhops had a hand in carrying on this Schiſm, yet 'tis not true, that it was begun by them; for *Optatus* makes

Optat. lib. 1. contra Parmen.

makes *Botrus* and *Cæleusius*, the first Authors of this Schism; for these, desiring themselves to be Bishops of *Carthage*, and disappointed of their Hopes, by the unanimous Election of *Cecilianus*, left the Communion of the Church, and drew *Lucilla*, a rich and potent Lady, into their Party, *Et sic tribus convenientibus causis & personis factum est ut malignitas haberet effectum. Schisma igitur illo tempore confusâ mulieris iracundiâ peperit, ambitus nutrivit, avaritia roboravit.* These three invited those Traditors of the Council of *Cyrta* to *Carthage*, to judge the cause of *Cecilianus*, who they pretended, was ordained by a Traditor; and these inveigled a great many others, by a plausible pretence of Zeal against the Betrayers of Religion; so *Cecilianus* was condemn'd, and *Majorinus* put into his place.

The Donatists, says Mr. *B. were so call'd from* Donatus, *a very good Bishop of* Carthage *heretofore, and not from* Donatus, *à Casis nigris.* 'Tis true, the former gave them the name, but I wonder where Mr. *B.* finds that he was so good a Bishop, (*a*) St. *Jerom* makes him an *Arrian*; (*b*) *Optatus* represents him as the most *arrogant, proud man, that ever was, that he exacted such a Submission, even from Bishops, as to make them worship him with no less Regard than God himself, that he suffer'd men to swear by his name*: (*c*) St. *Austin* makes him an Impostor, *that he made his party believe, that when he pray'd, God answer'd him from Heaven*; and the civil Magistrate found him no less turbulent than the Church, his contumelious Language to § 40.

(*a*) De script. Eccles. in Donat.
(*b*) Optat. lib. 3. *contra* Parmen.
(*c*) Aust. in Joh. tract. 3. prop. Priem.

the

the Emperours and their Lieutenants, ſhewing ſufficiently what Spirit he was of.

Gregori Maculæ Status & dedecus Præfectorum.

Laſtly, He miſtakes the time of this Council, with *Binnius* and *Baronius*, placing it in the year of Chriſt, 306. But *Optatus* making this Election of *Cecilianus* ſubſequent of the Toleration granted the *African* Churches by *Maxentius*, who had not reduced *Africa*, till about five years after; it is clear, that this Council could not be before.

Valeſius de Schiſmate Donatiſt. c. 1. § 41.

An. 308. Another Council was held at *Carthage*, where no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy *Donatiſt*-Biſhops, for Moderation, agreed to communicate with penitent Traditors, without rebaptizing them, and ſo did for forty years. This looks liker a piece of Policy than Moderation, for it had no tendence to Peace, but to ſtrengthen the Schiſm.

The Biſhops now begin to multiply, Schiſm the occaſion.

Aug. Epiſt. ad Vincentium.

For the number of Biſhops in this Council we have only the Authority of *Tychonius*, a Donatiſt, who probably, (as the humour of thoſe Schiſmaticks was) might magnifie the ſtrength of his Party, and ſtretch it a point beyond what it really was. The time of this Council is likewiſe very much miſtaken, as appears by what we have ſaid of the Council going before; and, it is probable, that it was held in the time of *Donatus*, Schiſmatick Biſhop of *Carthage*, and immediate Succeſſor of *Majorinus*. St. *Jerom*, in his Chronicle, ſets his Promotion in the year 351. *Donatus agnoſcitur à quo per* Africam *Donatiani*; And it cannot be well imagin'd, that Schiſm ſhould ſpread ſo ſuddenly, as in the very beginning of it, to have two hundred

Valeſ. de Schiſm. Donat. c. 3.

and

and ſeventy Biſhops of their Party; eſpecially, conſidering that *Conſtantine* the Great uſed all his Endeavours to ſuppreſs them.

It is obſervable, that before this time we do not meet any very numerous Councils, either in *Africk* or any where elſe; the greateſt falling much ſhort of a hundred; which ſhews, that Biſhops were not yet ſo much multiplied, and that their Biſhopricks were of a larger Extent; but theſe Schiſmaticks having divided the Church, made Biſhops in every Village to ſtrengthen their Party, and to outnumber the Orthodox; beſides that, they had ſet up an Altar, and made them Biſhops in every City, where they could get the leaſt Congregation to joyn with them. p. 4. § 44.

Mr. *B.* complains, upon this Occaſion, *That ſome Popiſh Perſons liken the Separatiſts among us to the* Donatiſts; who thoſe *Popiſh* Perſons are, I will not pretend to gheſs; However, this I am ſure, that the word Hereſie of old was never worſe abus'd, than that of Popery is now; for whomſoever men have a mind to render odious to the People, it is ſufficient to call him Popiſh, and then he is baited under that infamous name, as the Chriſtians anciently were in the Skins of Beaſts: But if a man had a mind to make odious Compariſons, Mr. *B*'s Defence of our Separatiſts from the Imputation of being like the *Donatiſts*, would render them but little Service. For his firſt Exception of our *Separatiſts having no Biſhops*, which the *Donatiſts* had, makes them differ not only from that Sect, but from all the Sects and Churches in the World till the laſt Age: and his ſecond

cond Exception of their being the leſſer number, ſignifies as little; for ſo were the *Donatiſts* at firſt, and ſo may *they* long continue; or rather may the name of Separation ceaſe, and all return into one Flock, under one Shepherd. "But the *Donatiſts* divided the Unity "of the Church, appointed Biſhops againſt "Biſhops, and Altar againſt Altar, pretended "to a greater Purity than the Orthodox, and "boaſted, that their Church had all Wheat "and no Tares; were great Calumniators of "Biſhops, and the honeſt Clergy that took "their part, they gave great Jealouſie to the "Civil Government, and ſpoke Diſreſpect-"fully of Princes: I will not ſay, that any of our Separatiſts do reſemble them in any of this.

The ſucceeding Councils of *Ancyra*, *Neocæſarea*, and two of *Alexandria*, eſcaped with pretty good Quarter; the Acts of ſome not diſpleaſing him, and of others being loſt.

p. 42. § 49. They were ſo few, that without Contention, they made divers good Canons.

The next is that of *Laodicea*, of 32 Biſhops; not ſo few, but they could have fallen out, if they had been ſo diſpoſed; three Canons of this Council, he cites in favour of his congregational Church: The forty ſixth *requires*, *That thoſe that are to be baptized, and not already baptized*, (as Mr. *B.* tranſlates) *ſhould learn the Creed, and repeat it to the Biſhop or Presbyters, on the Friday of the laſt Week*, *i. e.* of the *Lent*, or any other, next preceeding the day of ſolemn Baptiſm. *By this*, ſaith Mr. *B. You may conjecture how large a Biſhoprick then was.* They might be as large as ours for all this: For though the Biſhop may not hear them all himſelf, upon the ſame day, yet the Presbyters

ters of his Dioceſs may, and the Canon is ſatisfied with that: And *Canon* 56 *forbids the Presbyters to go into the Church before the* Biſhop, *but with him:* and Mr. *B*'s Inference from hence, is, *That every Church had a Biſhop, though ſome Chappels afar off, had but Presbyters only.* But I cannot ſee what Service this Remark does him; for 'tis confeſſed, that no Biſhop had but one Cathedral, and that is the Church meant here in the Canon; for it is added, *Nec ſedere in Tribunalibus*, which were put up only in the Epiſcopal Church; but that there were other Pariſh Churches ſupplied by Preſbyters, and thoſe far from the Cathedral, is acknowledged by Mr. B. I will not contend with him about their Title, whether they were Churches or Chappels; it is ſufficient to diſprove his Notion, that they were ſeveral Congregations. Canon 57. *It is order'd that Biſhops ſhould not be ordain'd in Villages and Hamlets*: The Canon does not diſtinguiſh between the ſmall and great, putting Villages indefinitely, but inſtead of Biſhops they were to have *Viſitors*, i. e. *qui circum eant*, that ſhould *go about, and viſit them*: which Expreſſion im- § 45.
ports, that there was no ſmall number of them under the ſame Aſſociation, and yet, all theſe were under the Biſhop of the City, upon which they depended, and their Viſitor was to do nothing without his Knowledge or Privity; which Mr. *B.* tranſlates Conſcience: *Sine Conſcientia Ep. nihil faciant.*
But leaſt he ſhould have forgot the thirteenth *Canon*, or taken no notice of it, I would recommend it to his conſideration; it is but

ſhort,

ſhort, *Quod non ſit permittendum turbis, Electionem eorum facere, qui ſunt ad ſacerdotium provehendi*; which ſhews, that the Peoples Right of electing Biſhops or Miniſters, is not ſo general, as to have no Exception in Antiquity.

That great *Roman* Council, of two hundred ſeventy five Biſhops, which Mr. *B.* mentions out of *Crabb*, is of ſo little Credit, as either not to be taken notice of by the following Compilers, or elſe, as is moſt probable, is ſet down elſewhere; for *Crabb* ſets them down twice. *It is uncertain*, ſays Mr. B. *whether it was before or after the* Nicene *Council*: for my part, I believe it was neither before nor after, but juſt the ſame time with the other great *Roman* Council, that follows next to it, of 284 Biſhops, which is ſaid to be held *after that*, Conſtantine *was baptized by* Sylveſter: *A hundred and twenty nine Biſhops came to this Latter from the City of* Rome, *and not far from it*: *How big were Biſhopricks then ſays Mr.* B.?

p. 43. p. 53. this is confeſs'd to be partly falſe if not all.

ibid.

But had there been no more Biſhops in *Italy* than were in this Council, they would not have exceeded the number of Chriſtians in *Alexandria*, when *Strabo* deſcribed it. After this he finds fault with ſeveral things in this imaginary Synod; firſt, *Becauſe men are curs'd for being ignorant of the time of the Moon*; *and then he congratulates the Makers and Improvers of the* Engliſh *Liturgy*, (he ſhould have ſaid the Almanack-makers) *that they did not live in thoſe ſevere times*: *For alas! one year they miſtook the time of* Eaſter, *and this is one of the things for which*

which two thouſand Miniſters are ſilenc'd, for not declaring Aſſent, Conſent, and Approbation of, yea, and the uſe of it, and ſo to keep Eaſter *at a wrong time.* The ſilenc'd Miniſters have little Reaſon to thank him, or any body elſe, that gives this reaſon of their Separation; nor do I believe they would be thought ſuch ſtrict Obſervers of Times and Feſtivals; and it is ſtrange, this ſhould trouble their Conſciences, who care no more for *Eaſter* than they do for *Chriſtmas*, but only that it falls upon a Sunday; and if the old obſervance of *Eaſter* in this Country, upon the fourteenth day of the Moon, had continued, we muſt have expected to have had as many Arguments againſt the Feaſt of the Reſurrection, as we have had againſt that of the Nativity.

After this, he quarrels with ſeveral other Canons of this Council, and at laſt ends in theſe Exclamations, *O brave Pope and Clergy! O patient Council! that ſubſcribed to one man, and pretended to no Judgment. O humble* Conſtantine! *that ſubſcribed to all this, and ſaid nothing, and a Womans Subſcription perfecteth all; and O credulous Reader that believeth this!* Why then does he ſpeak ſo modeſtly, that the Fiction is but uncertain? Why does he make Advantage of the number of theſe imaginary Biſhops? Why does he find Fault, and aggravate, and exclame; if after all, this is but a dream, and his Reader a Fool to believe it?

Before I cloſe this Chapter, I muſt give an account of Mr. *B*'s Favourite Sect, the *Novatians*, whom he ſpeaks ſo favourably of, as often

ten as he has occasion to mention them. The Original of their Schism he slubbers over, p. 35. after this manner; *And* Novatus, *and* Novatian, *as 'tis said, being against their taking* (i. e. the laps'd) *into Communion at all, the Councils excommunicated them all as Schismaticks.*

One would imagine by this account, that *Novatus* and *Novatian* had been thrust out of the Church, and that their Schism was an Effect of their Excommunication; but the contrary is notorious, for *Cyprian* charges *Novatus* with having *first departed from the Unity of the Church, and drawn away several Brethren from the Communion of their Bishop; and the Reason of all this was, his Consciousness of those horrid Crimes he had committed, which he foresaw would unavoidably bring the Censures of the Church upon him, as soon as ever the Persecution was over.* This was the tender Conscience of the Author of the ancient Sect of the Puritans; *Novatian* in like manner withdrew from the Communion of the Church, before he was excommunicated; and the reason of his being renounced by the Church, was, because he had first renounced their Communion: this Pharisaical Saint could not vouchsafe to enter into the same Church with Sinners; and if it were not purged of all Dross and Corruption, it must be unworthy of his Communion: yet this severe Refiner, of all others, had least reason to exact this Purity, whose Entrance into the Church, as well as the Ministry, was by extraordinary Dispensation and Indulgence; he was baptized

Ep. 39.

Euseb. *l.* 6. *c.* 43.

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in his bed, in great danger of Death; he neglected to be confirmed by the Bishop; he was made Priest against Ecclesiastical Laws [that forbid Clinicks to have any share in the Government of the Church] by the intercession of the Bishop, who promis'd the People, who were generally against his Admission, that this Act should never be drawn into Precedent. Being made Priest, he became no great credit to his Friends that promoted him, for in time of Persecution, being desired to assist some of the Brethren that were in distress, he renounc'd his Office, and Religion, saying, that he would be Priest no longer, and had an inclination to betake himself to another sort of Philosophy than the Christian: this is the man that was so rigid and cruel, as not to receive the Repentance of such as had fallen in time of Persecution, but, insinuating himself into the good opinion of the Confessors, such as had endured the fiery Tryal, he began to bring them into a dislike of the Church, since it did receive those that had abjured that Religion for which the Confessors had so gloriously suffered, and equalled them to these holy Martyrs in all the Priviledges of Communion. Some of these good men were carried away with his dissimulation, to do countenance to the Schism, and their Authority brought off several others from the Communion of the Bishop; but these at last discovering the Wolf in Sheeps clothing, forsook the Impostor, and return'd

to the Unity of the Church; he, in the mean time, uſes all diligence to widen the breach, and to make it perpetual, by ſetting up himſelf for a Biſhop, which then was thought neceſſary to the Being of a Church, although he had ſworn ſolemnly before never to take the Office upon him. To compaſs his Deſign, he ſends ſome of the ſubtileſt of his Agents to three plain ignorant Biſhops, to invite them to *Rome*, under pretence that this wretched Schiſm might be ended by their good Offices: Theſe good men, ſuſpecting no trick, came; and, overcome with his good Entertainment, with too much Wine and Perſwaſion, were forc'd at laſt to lay their hands on him, and conſecrate him a Biſhop; and not thinking himſelf ſecure enough yet under this Title, he makes every one of his Congregation engage himſelf by Oath never to forſake him, or to return to *Cornelius*, and this in a manner ſo Solemn, that the relation of it is ſufficient to ſtrike a horrour on the mind of the Reader: for when he adminiſtred the Sacrament, after Conſecration, *he made every one that received, when the Bread was in his hand, to ſwear to him by the Body and Blood of our Saviour, that they would never forſake him, or return to their former Biſhop.* Theſe were the men, theſe were the means by which the Schiſm of the *Novatians* was begun and carried on; a Schiſm no leſs execrable in the Conduct of it, than infamous in its Authors, and, which is yet worſe than all this, moſt blaſphemous in its Doctrines.

Mr.

Mr. *B.* is too favourable in his repreſentation of the *Novatian* Doctrine; for, in the place above-cited, he makes theſe two Obſervations in favour of them. Firſt, *that* Novatus *did not deny the laps'd pardon of Sin with God, but only Church-Communion.* Secondly, *That he did not deny this to other great Sinners repenting, but only to thoſe that Lapſ'd to Idolatry, or denying Chriſt; but the* Novatians *long after extended it to other heinous Crimes, as upon ſuppos'd parity of Reaſon.* p. 35.

As to the firſt, *Socrates* does endeavour to excuſe them, by ſaying, that thoſe who had ſacrificed to Idols in times of Perſecution, were to be exhorted to Repentance, though not to be admitted to Communion, and as to the Pardon of their Sin, they were to leave that to God, who alone has power to forgive Sins. lib. 4. c. 28.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that *Socrates* is an Hiſtorian of good credit, and, it ſeems, well acquainted with the Hiſtory and Doctrine of the *Novatians*, who probably in his time might have grown more moderate in their Opinion concerning Remiſſion of Sin; but nothing can be more evident, than that the Authours of that Schiſm denied not only the Communion of the Church, but God's Pardon, to thoſe who had ſinned after Baptiſm; for this, all the Writers of that time, who muſt be ſuppos'd to underſtand their Tenets, do unanimouſly affirm. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, who lived the ſame time with *Novatian*, and writ

to him to adviſe him to return, and be reconcil'd to the Church, and lay down that Honour of a Biſhop, which he pretended was forc'd upon him; this ancient Writer gives us this account of their Doctrine: *Novatian*, ſayes he, *I juſtly abhor, becauſe he has divided the Church, and drawn aſide ſeveral Brethren into Impiety and Blaſphemy, and brought in a moſt wicked Doctrine concerning God, repreſenting our moſt merciful Saviour as cruel and void of pity: Beſides this, he evacuates holy Baptiſm, and overthrows the Faith that was before him:* And laſtly, *He baniſhes the* Holy Ghoſt *irrevocably from thoſe in whom there is great reaſon to hope that either it Remains ſtill, or may return to them again.* So far *Dionyſius*.

Euſeb. l. 7. c. 8.

S. *Cyprian* argues, in ſeveral places, upon the ſame Suppoſition, and looks upon their Severity, in not admitting Penitents to Communion, as the Effect of a more cruel Doctrine, that God would never receive them into favour: This was the main Argument againſt the lapſed, *He that denies me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven*: and conſequently, they denied them Communion, becauſe they believed Chriſt would finally reject them. This the ſame Father uſes great diligence to explain, and confutes their Inference from it by the Example of St. *Peter*, who deny'd his Maſter, and yet was received into Grace. He does acknowledge indeed frequently, that *Novatus* did exhort thoſe to Repentance he refuſed to receive;

Cypr. ad Nov. Hær.

idem ad *Anton.* l. 4. ep. 2.

receive; but then he urges, that nothing can be more impertinent, than to preſs men to repent, and yet to take away from them all hopes of Pardon; and therefore, he notes this as a pernicious Effect of their Doctrine, That it frighted men out of their Religion, and made them turn Heathen, upon deſpair of Mercy, and caſt away all thoughts of Repentance, ſince it would not avail them to Salvation.

Euſebius, who had ſeen all this and a great deal more relating to the *Novatians*, and in all Probability, had read ſeveral of their Books, underſtood this to be their Doctrine; for *Novatus*, ſaith he, *(*ſo he calls *Novatian) a Presbyter of the* Roman *Church, puff'd up with Inſolence and Pride againſt the laps'd, as if there remain'd to them no hopes of Salvation, although they ſhould perform all things that are requiſite to a ſincere Converſion, became Author of that Sect, who arrogantly aſſume the name of Puritans.* *Euſeb. l. 6. c. 43.*

Theſe Witneſſes are ſo expreſs and full, that *Socrates* takes off nothing of the force of their Teſtimony; for he ſays only this, That they remitted Sinners to God, who was only able to forgive them, but they never give the leaſt hope that he will do ſo, or that any Salvation is to be attain'd out of the Communion of the Church; ſo that this is to be lookt upon rather a Shift, or a put off, to divert Envy and Clamour, than to give any Comfort or Encouragement to the penitent.

As to M.B's 2d Observation, That the *Authors of this Heresie did not deny Pardon to other great Sinners, but only to those that laps'd to Idolatry, or denying Christ*; and that it was their Followers long after, that extended it to other hainous Crimes: *Socrates* expresly confutes it, in the place above cited; where, speaking of *Novatian*'s Letters to several Churches upon the occasion of his Schism, adds, *That several were offended at the Severity of that Rule, that admitted none to Communion who had sinn'd mortally after Baptism.* The word there indeed, is *Sinn'd unto Death*, but that he did not understand that particular one of Apostacy by it, appears by what follows in the same Chapter; *That some took part with* Novatian, *others with* Cornelius, *according to their several Inclinations and Course of Life; the looser and more licentious sort, favouring the most indulgent Discipline, the other of more austere Lives, inclining most to the* Novatian *Severity*; which implies, that all Sins in the Opinion of these Schismaticks were equally irremissable: And a little before, in the same Chapter, *Novatian* confesses as much, where he remits the forgiving not only of this Sin of *Apostacy*, *but all Sins in general to God alone*; which is fuller confirm'd by St. *Ambrose*, who charges them with the Stoical Opinion that all Sins are equal.

Now let us see whether the Council of *Eliberis* does favour this Doctrine, and whether Mr. *B.* had any reason to admire how that *Council should be received* as Orthodox, *and yet*

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the Novatians *be accounted Hereticks.* He notes in his Margin, that *Abbaſpinæus* has learnedly made the beſt of it; ſo has *Mendoza*, in his large Defence of this Council, who vindicates this Canon by great numbers of Inſtances of the ſame nature in other Councils. He muſt be a great Stranger to the ancient Diſcipline of the Church, that has not heard of Penitents not being received into full Communion at the hour of Death: but this is far enough from being *Novatianiſm*: for ſuch, although they were not receiv'd into the Lord's Supper, or within the Congregation, were yet, upon their Repentance, received into the Order of Penitents; who, though they were not admitted into all the Priviledges and Familiarity of the Communion, yet they were received into the Charity and Unity of the Church; they had the Benefit of the Churches Prayers, and at laſt were reconciled by Impoſition of hands, though not by the receiving of the Sacrament, which was the more uſual way. p. 38.

We do not find that this Sect was much more mortified than it's Neighbours, unleſs it were in *Phrygia*, where *Socrates* ſaith, *The People were naturally averſe to Pleaſures.* But at *Conſtantinople*, their Biſhop *Siſinnius* was ſo gay and luxurious, as to give Offence to the *Orthodox* Party: and Saint *Ambroſe* objects the ſame thing to the whole Sect. Laſtly, they were no leſs Enemies to Peace, than they were to Truth, though Mr. *B.* commends their Moderation in one Inſtance; for In the place laſt cited. *l.* 1. *de pænit.*

the Catholicks in time of common Persecution, frequented their Churches, and would have made up the old Breach, but the *Novatians* would not comply, but kept to their ancient rule of Seperation, and refused to unite.

Socr. l. 2. c. 38.

Ναυατιάνοι φυλαττοντες τὸ ἀρχαίον παραννέλμα παρηφήσαντο.

Doctor *Forbes* intended a particular History of the *Novatians*, to shew the Nature and Method of Schism: it is Pity that great man did not live to perform what he design'd. *Steph. Keuchelius* writ a Book of the *Novatian* Heresie (so he makes it) *Strasburg* 1651. Quarto.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Council of Nice, *and ſome that followed it.*

THE great Council of *Nice* gives Title to Mr. *B*'s third Chapter; He cannot deny, but the Controverſie about which it was called, was of great Moment, and that it was brought to a happy end, but leſſens, as much as he can, the Credit of the Biſhops, and aſcribes very little to their Prudence and Judgment. I do not envy *Conſtantine* the Reputation of having heal'd the Differences of the Church, and there is no doubt, but he contributed much to the ſtilling that Controverſie for a while; yet it ſeems he did not judge the Biſhops and Councils to be of ſo little uſe as Mr. B. would repreſent, but was at great Pains and Expence to bring an extraordinary number of them together, and he knew no other way of compoſing Differences about Religion, than by getting a Conſultation of the moſt learned and eminent of thoſe that had the Direction of the Church. Some of theſe indeed had their Grievances to repreſent, and complaints againſt each other; but the Modeſty of *Conſtantine* put an end to their Quarrels and Diſputes, burning all their Accuſations without reading them. It is no wonder, if in ſo great a num-

Ch. Hiſt. p. 45. § 1.

ber

ber assembled from all the Provinces of the *Roman* World, (considering their great Dissentions about Religion) that there should be some that might retain the Sense of Injuries received, and complain of such as had done them wrong; but these were but few, and the matter soon accommodated.

§ 1. Mr. *B.* adds, *That* Eusebius Nicomed. *and* Arrius *were brought but to counterfeit Repentance, which satisfied* Constantine, *though not* Athanasius; *who, refusing to receive* Arrius *into Communion upon* Constantine's *Request, caused much Calamity afterwards.*

This is an oblique Accusation of that great Champion of the Christian Faith, and seems to charge him with all the Calamities which that unhappy Controversie brought upon the Church: but how justly, we will refer to Mr. *B*'s own Words, who calls *Arrius*'s Recantation, *A counterfeit Repentance*, and *Consent to the* Nicene *Faith*. If *Athanasius* saw through this Dissimulation, why is he yet blamed for not admitting him into the Church, before he had sincerely corrected that Fault for which he was justly cast out? And it was no hard matter to discern the Insincerity of *Arrius*'s Confession, since he dissembles the very point in Question, and rejects the Terms in which the Council had expressed it self: If therefore the good Emperour were imposed upon by a counterfeit Repentance, and would restore that Incendiary to Opportunities of doing Mischief, *Athanasius* is not

Sect. 1. c. 27.

not to be blamed, who wiſely foreſaw what Miſchiefs were like to follow, upon the Reception of that Heretick. Compliance with Hypocrites, is no likely means to reclaim them; and there is a ſort of Mercy that is more cruel, than Severity: if thoſe few that diſſented from the Determination of that Council, had not been received again without giving greater ſecurity of their Faith and Moderation, it might perhaps have ended that fatal Controverſie.

In the next place, Mr. *B.* paſſes to the caſe of the *Meletians*, and thinks it uſeful (for our warning in theſe times) to recite the ſum of the Story out of *Epiphanius*. § 2.

The ſhort of it is this, *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and *Meletus* Biſhop of *Lycopolis*, being Fellow-priſoners for the ſame Faith, diſagreed unhappily about the old Queſtion, Whether thoſe that denyed the Faith in time of Perſecution, were to be receiv'd upon their Repentance? *Peter* was for Indulgence, *Meletius* for Severity. In Concluſion, they divided Congregations in the Priſon, *Peter* ſuffer'd Martyrdom, but the Schiſm ſurvived him, and the Churches of *Ægypt* were upon this occaſion, divided into Parties; *Meletius* is reconciled to the Succeſſor of *Peter*, and lives peaceably with him in *Alexandria*, content with the Title of a Biſhop, but without any exerciſe of his Function. At laſt, the Spirit of Diviſion return'd upon him again, and he made new Ordi- Epiph. Hæſ. Meletr. Epiph.

Ordinations, and ſet Church againſt Church, and Biſhop againſt Biſhop; His Followers after his Death, joyn'd with the *Arrians*, againſt *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and
p. 46. became a great Support to that Hereſie, *Juſt as if the Nonconformiſts at this time*, ſaith Mr. *B. ſhould ſeek, by the favour of the Papiſts, to be deliver'd from the ſilencing and deſtroying Prelates, upon Condition of common Liberty; the caſes are not much unlike.*

I do not deſire to improve this Compariſon to the Reproach of the *Non-conformiſts*, as he endeavours to render Biſhops odious, under the Name of Tyrants; yet I wiſh they would ſeriouſly conſider, what Support their Separation has been to that Faction, they above all men exclame againſt. They have made the Breach, and the Enemy has lodg'd, and fortified himſelf in it, and yet notwithſtanding the common danger that threatens all, ſtill chooſe to purſue their little Scruples and great Animoſities, to the evident hazard of the Reformed Religion, rather than to cloſe with the Church, and to make up the Breaches of our City, which will be impregnable, when it is at Unity in it ſelf. But to return to our Story of the *Meletians*. Mr. *B.* confeſſes, page 48. That "*Baronius* and *Petavius* ſay that *Epiphanius* "is deceived in all this Hiſtory, and makes "the caſe of the *Meletians*, better than it "was, and that ſome *Meletian* Knave be-"guil'd him. He anſwers, 1. They give us

no

" no Proof of any ſuch Knaves beguiling " him at all. 2. That he who was ſo apt to " overdoe, in ſuſpecting and aggravating " Hereſies (*as in* Origen *and* Chryſoſtom's " *Caſe*) was not likely to make the caſe here " ſo much better than it was. 3. And how " much nearer was *Epiphanius* in Time and " Place, than *Baronius* and *Petavius*? And " how eaſie was it then for him to have true " Notice of ſuch publick things? 4. And if " they make *Epiphanius* ſo fallacious in ſuch a " Story as this, ſo near him, what a ſhake " does it give to the Credit of his copious " Hiſtory of the many other Hereſies, which " he had leſs opportunity to know, and con- " ſequently, to the Credit of much of Church- " Hiſtory?

Mr. *B.* has an eaſie way of confuting mens Opinions, without confuting their Reaſons: If he had but mention'd any of their Arguments, he might have ſpar'd the Labour of his own. As to his firſt Reaſon againſt them, they do not ſtand much upon it, whether a *Meletian* Knave beguil'd *Epiphanius* or no, they prove him to be deceiv'd, and it is likelier he ſhould be deceived by a *Meletian* Knave, than any Body elſe. As to the ſecond; No body can think he deſign'd to excuſe the *Meletians*, by that Story which he laid down as he found it. As to the third, it would have ſome weight, if *Baronius* and *Petavius* contradicted this out of their own Heads, without any Authority ancienter

enter than *Epiphanius*. Is not *Athanaſius* as credible a Witneſs, who lived in thoſe times, and was concern'd in ſome of thoſe Actions that are related by *Epiphanius*; his Relation contradicts this. Who then is to be believ'd, *Epiphanius*, who writ a long time after, or *Athanaſius*, who was witneſs of moſt of theſe things, and muſt needs have heard of that Quarrel in the Priſon, if any ſuch thing had been? But he gives us this account; which, how it can conſiſt with *Epiphanius*'s, let Mr. *B.* judge: *Peter*, ſays he, was "made Biſhop with us before, and ſuffer'd "Martyrdom under the Perſecution of *Dio-*"*cleſian*; he depos'd, in a Synod of Biſhops, "*Meletius* an *Ægyptian* Biſhop, convict of "many Crimes, and in particular, that he "had ſacrificed to Idols; he neither appeal'd "to any other Synod, nor took care to purge "himſelf before *Peter*'s Succeſſors in *Alexan-*"*dria*, but made a Schiſm; ſo that his Fol-"lowers now inſtead of Chriſtians, are called "*Meletians*; then he began to aſperſe and ca-"lumniate the Biſhops, and *Peter* in the firſt "place, then his Succeſſor *Achillas*, and after "him *Alexander*, and that with great cun-"ning, borrowing the Inſtance of *Abſalon*, "to render the Fact of his Depoſition more "invidious, and to revenge himſelf by "calumniating the innocent. What ſhall we now believe? That *Meletius* who was convict of ſacrificing to Idols himſelf, ſhould be ſo ſevere againſt others that had fallen into the

Athanaſ. Apol. 2.

ſame

ſame Sin? or how ſhould he be impriſon'd for his Religion that had ſacrificed to Idols? This, and the Story of that dividing Mantle, can no more agree, than *Peter* and *Melitius* could in the Priſon, according to *Epiphanius* his Relation. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* have the ſame Story with *Athanaſius*, and not one word of this Partition Mantle. In ſhort, is *Peter* himſelf to be believed againſt *Epiphanius?* He is repreſented there as one too indulgent to Sinners, but his Canons are the ſevereſt of any that I have ſeen, and are down-right *Novatianiſm* in Mr. *B*'s Opinion: He appoints very long Penance, for Sins not very hainous; and for thoſe that fall away under Perſecution, though their Temptations be never ſo great, and the Terrors of Death never ſo forcible, yet he allows them but juſt Encouragement enough to hope for a Pardon upon their ſincere Repentance; but for ſuch as prevent the danger, and offer themſelves to Sacrifice before the Officers hale them to the Temple, ſuch were never to be admitted to full Communion, no not at the hour of Death. Is any man like to find fault with this Biſhop for being too indulgent? Is this any great Encouragement to Apoſtates? It would be ſtrange after all this, that men ſhould depart from his Communion, for being too much proſtituted to the Betrayers of Religion: If all this does not ſatisfie *Mr. B.* but that he will ſtill believe thoſe holy Martyrs, as unmortified in Priſon, *as the Prieſts and*

vid. Petr. Alex. Can. ap. Bib. Patr. apud Synodic. Bever.

Petr. Alex. Can. 4. & Argument. Canon.

and Jeſuits heretofore were at *Wisbich*, let him enjoy his Fancy, and contempt of ancient Biſhops, and be bound to believe all the Stories in *Epiphanius*.

Mr. *B.* confeſſes, that *Epiphanius* ſeems not to be very accurate in his Diſputes nor his Narratives; why then does he maintain him here againſt the Authority of *Athanaſius*, and all Senſe and Reaſon? He does acknowledge ſome Paſſages in this Hiſtory to be miſtaken; as that the *Meletians* joyned with the *Arrians* before the Death of *Alexander*; and in his Inſtance of the time of *Arrius*'s death, placing it before the Councel of *Nice*. Beſides theſe, there are other Miſtakes no leſs groſs, which Mr. *B.* ſwallows down as true Hiſtory; as firſt, that *Conſtantine* the Great baniſh'd *Athanaſius* into *Italy*, where he remain'd twelve or fourteen years, till after the Death of *Conſtantine*. If *Athanaſius* himſelf be to be believ'd, or *Socrates* out of him, *Conſtantine* baniſh'd him into *Gallia*, and *Treves* was the place where he abode; nor is there any Likelihood that he ſaw *Italy* during his firſt Baniſhment. But the account of the time of it, for twelve or fourteen years, is intolerable; for the Councel of *Tyre* was not aſſembled till the thirtieth year of *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius* and *Albinus* being Conſuls; which agrees with the three hundred thirty fifth year of our Saviour, according to *Baronius*'s Computation; *Athanaſius* his Baniſhment is plac'd the year after, *Conſtantine* dyes

Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtant.

Epiſt. Præf. Mariot.

dyes the year ensuing, and presently after his death, *Athanasius* is recall'd. *Baronius* places his return in the year 338, but *Valesius* proves, from the style of *Constantine junior*'s Letter, in the behalf of *Athanasius*, who was then but *Cæsar*, that *Athanasius* return'd the very same year that *Constantine* dyed: So that the twelve or fourteen years do hardly amount to so many Months; which, I believe, was the true writing of *Epiphanius*, and that Years are put in, instead of Months, by the mistake of the Copies. *Theodoret* computes his Banishment to be two whole Years, and *Baronius* follows him. There are several other things in the same Author no less absurd, as that *Athanasius* is charged with the murther of *Arsenius*, in *Constantine*'s time; that *Eusebius* baptized *Valens* the Emperour, though *Eusebius* was dead many years before *Valens* came to the Empire; that *Constantine* was the Son of *Valerian*; that *George* was put into *Athanasius*'s place in the time of his first Banishment; that *Achillas* succeeded *Alexander* in the See of *Alexandria*, and many other such Oversights in History; and one would wonder so great a man as *Epiphanius* could be guilty of, or that any one that pretends to Church-History, should follow him in those gross mistakes, which they may correct out of any Historian that does but make mention of the same things and Times.

Dallè, l. 4. de Imagin. p. 394. Epiphanius etanè aliter Schisma Meletianum narrat, quam rei veritas poscebat.

Mr. *B.* ſtrangely confounds *Gregory* and *George*, the *Arrian* Biſhops of *Alexandria*; for page 47 he tells us, "That when *Conſtans* had compell'd his Brother *Conſtantius* to reſtore him (*Athanaſius*) he was "again baniſh'd; For *George*, that had been "made Biſhop by the *Arrians* (and by *Conſtantius*) was kill'd by the Heathen Peo-"ple in *Julian*'s time, and his Corps burnt, "and the aſhes ſcatter'd into the Wind, "which increas'd the ſuſpition of Tyranny "againſt *Athanaſius*.

I hope *George*'s murther in *Julian*'s time, did not bring *Athanaſius* into ſuſpition of Tyranny under *Conſtantius*. But pag. 62. Sect. 45. this *George* is call'd *Gregory*; *Gregory the Biſhop, being, as is aforeſaid, murther'd by the Heather, and burnt to aſhes.*] We no where read, that this *Gregory* was either *murder'd* or *burn't*, but that he was *turn'd out* of the *See* of *Alexandria*, becauſe he was odious to all, and to the *Arrians* themſelves, and that *George*, who was afterwards murther'd, was put in his place. Where he ſays, *Conſtans* compell'd his Brother *Conſtantius* to reſtore *Athanaſius*, he miſtakes *Conſtans* for his Brother *Conſtantine*, who was the Author of *Athanaſius* his firſt reſtauration: for it was long after his firſt baniſhment, and after the Council of *Sardica*, that *Conſtans* threatned his Brother with War, if he did not reſtore *Athanaſius* and *Paul* into their Churches.

Socr. l. 2. c. 14.

Page

Page 48. §. 4. He gives an account of the Hereſie of *Arrius*, and, I think, heartily condemns him, if theſe words be his own, *He that denies the Deity of Chriſt, denies his Eſſence, and he that denies his Eſſence, denies Chriſt, and is no Chriſtian.* Yet he excuſes this Doctrine in compariſon of *Socinianiſm*, and that very juſtly. At laſt, after a ſhort ſum of the *Arrian* Doctrine, he concludes, *this was the dangerous Hereſie of* Arrius. I muſt confeſs, he is ſo much given to Figures, that I can't tell whether he be in earneſt here, or ſpeake only Ironically; but, ſure I am, that what he ſayes in the next Paragraph, is very much to the diſadvantage of the Doctrine of the Trinity: And, to ſay truth, *Petavius* has done it no great kindneſs by his Defence of it. 'Tis true, that ſome of the Fathers, before the *Nicene* Council, ſeem'd to ſpeak ſometimes in favour of that Doctrine, which was afterwards taken up by the *Arrians*; but that they did *eadem ſentire*, is more than ought to be granted. Before ſome Controverſies have been ſtarted, men have ſpoke leſs warily, whom, afterwards, Diſputation has brought to be more Cautious in their Expreſſions. *Dallé* makes the Ancient Fathers to be of little Uſe in the Controverſies between us and the Papiſts, becauſe (though they may ſeem to favour ſometimes one ſide, ſometimes another, yet) they ſpeak loofly, and without any regard to our Controverſies, which were

Dallé de uſu Patr.

not then in being; Several Paſſages extolling Communion with the Biſhop of *Rome*, were little intended to ſet him up for an infallible Judge; and others, ſpeaking with great Veneration of the Euchariſt, may ſeem to favour Tranſubſtantiation, *&c.* If any ſuch Opinion had then been in the Church, their words, in probability, had been more deciſive. It is a commendable Charity of Mr. B. to ſay, that *it is enough to*
P. 49. *believe theſe Fathers to be ſaved, though we may not believe them to be without Errour.* Though that Errour, by his confeſſion, is very dangerous, as implying a denial of Chriſt; yet, he adds, *that God is merciful,*
ibid. *and requires not knowledge of all alike.* But, for my part, I believe they do not ſtand in need of that Charity: Some of them ſpoke looſely, in compliance with a Platonick Notion of the Trinity, not fore-ſeeing what Conſequences might be drawn from their Expreſſions, or how narrowly they ſhould come afterwards to be examin'd. Certain it is, that the Fathers that followed the *Ni-*
Athan. ad Afros. *cene* Council, took all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers before their time to be of their Opinion;
Hiſt. Tripart. *l.* 2. *c.* 7. and *Siſinnius*, the *Novatian* Reader, afterwards Biſhop, is ſaid to have confounded
Socr. l. 5. *c.* 10. *&* *Sozom. l.* 7. *c.* 12. all the *Arrian* Diſputants, by putting the matter to this iſſue, Whether they would ſtand to the Judgment of the Ancient Fathers, in the Interpretation of ſuch places of Scripture as were controverted between them.

them. *Euſebius*, no Enemy to the *Arrians*, acknowledges ὁμοούσιος to be uſed by ſome Eccleſiaſtical Writers, long before the Council of *Nice*: the Creed of the Council of *Antioch* againſt *Paulus Samoſatenus*, has it, and ſeveral other things, that ſhew how much the Doctrine of the Church at that time differ'd from that of the *Arrians*. It would be a great Service to the Truth, that ſeems now to labour under ſome Prejudice, if ſome learned hand would take the Pains to ſhew (which I believe is not impoſſible) how *Petavius* has betray'd the conſtant Tradition of this Doctrine, to eſtabliſh it by the Authority of the Church, and relieve the Memories of thoſe holy Martyrs that he leaves charg'd with the Suſpition of blaſphemous Opinions concerning our Saviour.

Ep. ad Cæſar. Hiſt. Tripart. l. 2.

Vid. Conc. Antioch.

Having done with the *Nicene* Council, and all that related to it, Mr. *B.* thinks it worth his labour to add the Sum of the Hiſtory of the *Audians* out of *Epiphanius*. "That the World may percieve what Spirit "the hereticating Prelates were then of, and "how ſome, called Hereticks, were made "ſuch, or defamed as ſuch, and who they "were that did divide the Churches, and "break their Peace; The Author of this Sect "was *Audius*, a man ſevere in his Life, and "ſound in his Principles, but one that took "great Liberty of Speech, and reproved "ſharply, whatſoever he found amiſs, though

p. 52. §. 7.

Epiph. Hæreſ. Audian.

"it were in the Bishops; they, in Revenge, "persecuted him, and turn'd him out of "the Church. He is made Bishop of his "own Sect, and so exasperated, as to abhor "all Communion with the Bishops of the Catholick Church. If all things were as *Epiphanius* represents them, *Audius* had very hard Measure: but it seems, from *Epiphanius* his own account, that there was not wanting just occasion against him; for he held, that *God had Humane Shape*; a Doctrine, if obstinately maintain'd (and such bold men are not easily reclaim'd) altogether intolerable: But I am afraid *Epiphanius* had this Story from as bad hands as that of the *Meletians*; for, this Schism happening in a remote part of the World, and being scatter'd afterwards into several Parts, it is likely, that some *Audian* might impose upon him; For it looks like the Story of one party: and the more likely, because *Theodoret*, a man that lived in that Country, where they first sprung, gives an infamous Character of them, That they held some of the Doctrines of the *Manichees*, "That God "was not the Author of Fire and Darkness, that they exercised Usury, that they "cohabited with Women, without Marriage, that they were great Hypocrites, of a "proud, Pharisaical Spirit, that cried, Touch "me not, for I am holier than thou. If *Audius* were like his Followers, I know nothing so like him and them, as *Labady* and his

i 4. Hæret. Fab.

his Diſciples: This was a man very free in his Reproofs too, he ſpoke ſharply againſt the Vices of the Clergy where he lived, though there were no Biſhops amongſt them; and it may be, one of his Followers may be able to perſwade a learned man in *Conſtantinople*, that he was baniſh'd only for his Liberty of Reprehenſion, and out of Envy to his Virtue. See *Labadie's* Epiſt. againſt Reformation.

Page 52. Section 14. we have ſeveral ſhrewd Remarks upon ſome Canons of the Council of *Nice*; As firſt, That no Patriarchs are named there; Secondly, That they nullifie the Ordination of ſcandalous and uncapable men.

Can. 9. 10. *Which will juſtifie Pope* Nicholas, *forbidding any to take the Maſs of a fornicating Prieſt.* This fornicating Prieſt of Pope *Nicholas*, is no other than a married one; and whatſoever will juſtifie that Prohibition, cannot but condemn Mr. *B.* who is himſelf married. As for depoſing ſcandalous Miniſters, there is none but wiſhes it, but not in the manner he ſeems to inſinuate by the Sentence of the people, but by their lawful Superiors, which theſe two Canons do ſuppoſe. 3. *That Rural Biſhops were then in Uſe, and allowed by the Council.* Can. 8. And what can he infer from hence? Not ſurely, That every Country Pariſh had a Biſhop, but that, ſuch Cities as had larger Territories belonging to them, had Eccleſiaſtical Viſitors under the City-Biſhop, which

were called *Chorepiscopi*; Whether they were Bishops indeed, or Priests, with a delegated Episcopal Power, is not agreed amongst Learned men: Sure it is, that they had this Obligation common to them with other Presbyters, not to do any thing of Moment without the Advice and Approbation of the Bishop. 4. *That no Bishop was to remove from one Church to another*: yet some other Councils allow this Translation, and *Gelasius* understands it only of such, as out of Covetousness or Ambition, and by indirect means, shall endeavour to translate themselves; and the Practice of the Church was never very conformable to this Canon, the most eminent Bishops in the World, having transgres'd it. 5. *The* Arabick *Canons*; the fourth, *Si populo placebit, is a Condition of every Bishops Election*: Newer Translations render this Concurrence of the People, *Cum consensu Populi*, *Populo consentiente*; which implies little more, than that the Bishop ought to be such, as the People should have nothing material to object against; and not, that they were to please themselves, and to indulge their Fancies in the Election of their Bishops, for that did belong to the Clergy, and particularly to the Metropolitan; as the ninth *Arabick* Canon does expressly inform us. 6. The fifth *Arabick* Canon, in case of Discord among the People, "who shall be their Bishop or Priest, refers

Can. 57. Conc. Laodic.

Conc. Carthag. 4.

Socr. l. 7. c. 36.

Vid. Isac. ap. Synod. Nicen. 30.

"fers it to the People, to consider which is "most blameless; and no Bishop or Priest "must be taken into anothers place, if the "former was blameless; so that if Pastors "be wrongfully cast out, the People must "not forsake them, nor receive the obtruded. Nothing can be more disingenuous than this Dealing: The design of that Canon is, that there should be but one Bishop in every City; but if the People disagree, and one party stand up for one, and another for another, they ought to consider the Justice of the Cause, and he that is already Bishop, ought to continue so, if they have nothing material to lay to his Charge, and that be not evidently proved: so we see plainly, that this Disagreement is only between the People, who have no Power to depart from the rightful Bishop, and factiously to set up another against him; but that the People should stand by their Pastor when he is canonically ejected by his Superiours assembled in Synod, is very far from being any meaning of this Canon, though Mr. *B.* would force it to that purpose: Besides all this, though any of these *Arabick* Canons should directly favour, either his Notion of a Church, or the cause of Dissenters, or disallow the Practice of our Church in any thing they scruple: it would give them but very small Relief, since there is no Church, and much less ours that ever receiv'd them, nor *Vid. loc.*

nor were they ever heard of, till the last Age. 7. *Those ordained by* Meletius, *were to be received into the Ministry where others dyed, if by the Suffrage of the People, they were judged fit; and the Bishop of* Alexandria *design'd them.* Whither this tends, is not hard to conjecture, but it would spoil the Drift, if one should observe maliciously, First, That these *Meletians* were Episcopally ordain'd. Secondly, That they were receiv'd into the Ministry, upon the Supposal of their Submission to the Canons and Orders of the Church. Thirdly, That in that same place, *Sozomen* declares in the Name of the Council, that it is not lawful for the People to elect whom they please.

l. 1. c. 24. Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέγεσθαι κατὰ γνώμην ἰδίαν, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν. Ath. Ep. ad Serap.

Page 53. The Council of *Gangræ*, he has nothing to object against; that of *Tyre* is manifestly *Arrian*, and abhorr'd by the Catholick Church; that of *Jerusalem* is of the the same Stamp; but here Mr. *B.* goes along with the common Mistake, that *Arrius* was here receiv'd into Communion, whereas *Athanasius* affirms him to have died out of the Communion of the Church: And it is plain, that comparing *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Athanasius*, *Arrius*, the Author of that Heresie was dead before the Council of *Jerusalem*; and it is observable, that *Athanasius*, in his account of that Council, every where expresses himself thus, That Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄρριον, and Οἱ Ἀρεανοὶ, were there receiv'd into Communion. See *Vales*, his Annot. Ecclesiast. in *Socrat.* & *Sozom.*

Ep. Synod. Con. Hierosol. Athan. l. de Synod.

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The next, of any Note, *is the Council of* Antioch, *of near a hundred Bishops*, (of which, thirty six were *Arrians*) *the most Orthodox, and the holy* James *of* Nisybis, *one, yet they depos'd* Athanasius, *and the* Arrians *(it's like by the Emperour's Favour) carry'd it*: Thus far Mr. *B.* Many have wonder'd, how the major part of this Council, being Orthodox, *Athanasius* should be condemn'd by it; Mr. *B.* who does not seem much to favour him, because he was not kind to the Nonconformist *Meletians*, insinuates a base complyance of these Orthodox Bishops, with the Emperours Inclination; a moderate man, and always for the most charitable Construction. However, Pope *Julius*'s Letter is express, that he was condemn'd but by thirty six Bishops, whether they were *Arrians* or no, he does not say: *Athanasius* reckons ninety, *Hilary* ninety seven, *Sozomon* ninety nine; and be they never so many, it seems, the lesser number carry'd it; and if the Emperour made that a Law, the Orthodox Dissenters ought to be absolved. Certain it is, that this Council lay under the Imputation of *Arrianism*, for when it was objected to *Chrysostom*, that he resum'd his Place, after that he had been ejected, without the Authority of a Synod to restore him, which the Canons of this Council did require; his Defence was, that this was not a Canon of the Church, but of the *Arrians*. *Sozomen* makes them all *Arrians*, p. 54. § 21.

Arrians. The Faction of Euſebius, (ſaith he) *with ſeveral others that favour'd that Opinion, in all, ninety ſeven Biſhops, aſſembled at* Antioch, *from ſeveral places, under Colour of conſecrating a Church; but indeed, as the Event prov'd, to abrogate the Decrees of the* Nicene *Council: Athanaſius* rejects them, as ſworn Enemies to him and the Faith, ſo that there is no likely-hood that the majority was Orthodox, ſince *Conſtantius* and *Euſebius* had the contriving of this Synod, and by it's means, the Ruine of *Athanaſius*. But how came this Opinion of thirty ſix only, being *Arrians*, and yet carrying the Cauſe? Some ſay, that they acted ſecretly, and did not admit the Orthodox to vote with them; for ſo the Condemnation of *Athanaſius* paſt at *Tyre*; or that they might be impos'd upon by their ſpecious Pretence of diſowning *Arrius*; but becauſe there is no account of any Difference between the *Arrians* and *Orthodox* in this caſe, no Proteſtation enter'd, (nay, if any ſuch thing had been, it cannot be imagin'd, but that *Sozomen* muſt have mention'd it, where he ſpeaks of the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, abſenting himſelf on purpoſe, leſt he ſhould be drawn in a ſecond time, to ſubſcribe to the Condemnation of *Athanaſius*,) we muſt conclude. That theſe were all of a Party, and pack'd together upon that deſign. And perhaps, the reading of thirty ſix in *Julius*'s Epiſtle, may be a miſtake of Tranſcri-

ſcribers, it being eaſie to miſtake the *Greek* figure of 90 for 30, unleſs we ſhall judge the contrary to be the true Reading; for the two ancient Latin Tranſlations of *Dionyſius Exiguus*, and *Iſidorus Mercator*, conclude, *conſenſerunt & ſubſcripſerunt* 30 *Epiſcopi*, and the *Greek* Synodical Epiſtle wants but one of juſt thirty Subſcriptions. *Sozomen* mentions another Synod at *Antioch*, of juſt thirty Biſhops, and confounds the Acts of it with thoſe of this firſt; but whether it be his miſtake, or the old Tranſlators, that might confound the ſecond with the firſt, I am not able to determine, and the matter is too confus'd to be extricated here.

Though the Authority of this Council was not great, yet it ſeems the Canons of it were ſo wiſely ſuited to the condition of a diſtracted Church, and to the depreſſing of Schiſm, that they were adopted afterwards by General Councils. Mr. *B.* mentions ſeveral, that are moſt of them levell'd againſt Diſſenters, and yet they are ſuch, as the Diſſenters themſelves, that own any Diſcipline, cannot find fault with, and when they are in any Power, find neceſſary to obſerve. The fifth *forbids any Prieſt or Deacons to gather Churches or Aſſemblies againſt the Biſhop's will; and if any did, and did not deſiſt upon admonition, he was to be depoſed; and if he went on, to be oppreſt by the exteriour Power, as ſeditious.* The word *oppreſt*, it ſeems, is Emphatical; and has indeed an old Verſion

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to favour it; but what may be Oppreſſion, in his ſenſe, with the Council was Legal Puniſhment; and the *Greek* word it uſes ſignifies not ſo much the Penalty, as the End for which it was to be inflicted, the *reduction* of Schiſmaticks. And here Mr. *B.* ends very angrily, and leaves his ſting behind him, in this ſharp Expreſſion, [*this is their ſtrength.*] There are many as intelligent men as Mr. *B.* that are of Opinion, that theſe [*they*] have ſtrength of Reaſon and Argument on their ſide, as well as of Power; but there are thoſe that have a ſtrength that is invincible by any Reaſon, and that is Perverſeneſs: and that is the only ſtrength of ſome that I will not name.

Ἐπιστρέφεσθαι.

After this, he ſpares his Gall, for about a dozen times, though not without one ſmall ſally, till he meets with the Council of *Sardica*, which clear'd *Athanaſius*, *Marcellus*, and others. *Auſtin and many others*, ſays he, *reject this Council.* Surely, not becauſe it clear'd theſe men; for all the Orthodox World look upon their Cauſe and that of Religion, as ſo nearly joyn'd, that they could not deſert the one, without betraying the other: Beſides, St. *Auſtin* does not reject this Council, for he had never ſeen the Acts of it, but that of *Philippo-polis*, as appears by his Exceptions againſt it, that it was carried on by the *Arrians*.

p. 55. §. 28.

Auguſt. Ep. 163. *ad Eleuſ.* Where he rejects it, becauſe *Athanaſius* and *Julius* were condemned by it.

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I marvel that Mr. *B.* ſpeaking of the *Arrian* Synod at *Philippo-polis*, would ſeem to give ſo much credit to the Calumnies thoſe Hereticks faſtened upon *Athanaſius*, and other good Biſhops, as to be ſtagger'd with their Accuſation. *Athanaſius* had already detected ſo many Subornations againſt himſelf, that it ought not to aſtonith any to hear the ſame men, or their diſciples, lay'd new and incredible Crimes to his charge, no more than the *Centuries* of *Scandalous Miniſters*, or the *lying wonders* of the *anni mirabiles*, ought to ſtagger any man in his Opinion of the Conformiſts of the Church of *England*. p. 56. § 29.

In the next Paragraph, we have a ſoft, kind character of the *Circumcelliones*, who paſs only for *Violent Reformers, taking from the Rich, what, they thought, they had wrong'd any of, and righting the injured, and unjuſtly doing Juſtice.* We need not deſpair, after this exculing of the moſt barbarous and deſperate Villains that ever defamed Chriſtianity, by aſſuming the Title; but that Mr. *B.* in a great fit of Charity and Moderation, may another time give us an Apology for *John* of *Leyden*, or of *Venner*, and his deſperado Saints. § 30.

The reſt of the Councils, to the end of this Chapter, muſt be confeſs'd not to be much to the Honour of the Church; yet the evil Effects and Conſequences of them, are rather to be charged upon the *Arrian* Empe-

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rour than the Biſhops. This was the time of the *Arrian* Inquiſition, and this was the miſerable choice, to ſubſcribe, or to ſuffer Impriſonment, and ſcourging, and Baniſhment, and Sequeſtration; and many good men preſerved Faith and a good Conſcience, againſt all this Violence and Compulſion, many fell in the day of Tryal, and ſubſcribed againſt their own Judgment; yet ſuch are rather to be pitied than inſulted on, conſidering we have all the ſame common Infirmities, and without extraordinary Aſſiſtance, are not ſufficient to encounter all the Terrours that a reſolved Enemy can make uſe of to affright us; and in this caſe, it is evident, that it was neither the Biſhop, nor the Chriſtian, but the Man, and the infirmity of Humane Nature, was to be charged with theſe Compliances.

The account which *Hillary* gives of thoſe times is very ſad, but yet, ſuch as ſhews, rather the Calamity than the fault of the Biſhops, every one, as in time of an irreſiſtable Conflagration, uſing his beſt, though ineffectual Endeavour, to quench the Flames. This made every one a Projector, and deviſe new Forms of Creeds, in hopes at laſt, that ſome one or other, might be receiv'd by all the differing Parties. It is an eaſie thing to mock at the Diſſentions or Differences of the Church, but it is not an eaſie matter to heal them; and Reconcilers themſelves are at laſt engaged in the Diſpute they would

put

put an end to. If Mr. *B.* deſpiſes their Unskilfulneſs, that they did not underſtand, either the *Cure of Church-Diviſions*, or the *true and only Terms of Chriſtian Concord*, it was their Unhappineſs, not to have ſo diſcerning a Spirit as his; and yet, for all his Projects and Methods, we do not find any great Succeſs of his Undertakings; for neither is he himſelf free from Contentions, and thoſe very bitter, in which he is, and has been engaged, againſt almoſt all ſorts and Sects of men; and ſome have judg'd him ſo much a Stranger to Peace, as to need a Moderator to ſtand between the Contradictions of his own Books,

CHAP. IV.

Of the Council of Conſtantinople.

IT was a malicious Suggeſtion of the Devil againſt *Job*, when he had nothing to lay to his Charge, to call his Integrity in Queſtion, *Does* Job *ſerve God for nought?* And Mr. *B.* though he elſewhere abhors *Diaboliſme*, yet here, condeſcends to the odious Arts of the Accuſer of the Brethren, and endeavours to diſparage the Faith and Orthodoxneſs of the Biſhops of the *Weſt*, by inſinuating, that it was but their Compliance with good Empe-
p. 65. § 1. rours: *The Biſhops* (ſays he) *much follow'd the Emperours Will: and if the Faith of* Conſtantine *Senior* and *Junior*, Conſtans, Valentinian, *had not fail'd, the General Councils at* Milan *and* Ariminum, *tell us how failing the Biſhops Faith was like to be.* What can there be more unchriſtian, than this Suggeſtion? Why could not the Biſhops Faith be as ſincere and conſtant as the Emperours? Nay, that theſe Emperours did continue Orthodox, muſt be in great Meaſure aſcrib'd to the Diligence of the Biſhops, that had any Influence upon them. "But it ſeems, the Emperours drew Councils "on their part, what ſide ſoever they "took; And what wonder, ſince they "could call whom they pleas'd, and pack their

" their Councils, disable those that were not " for their Turn, turn honest men out of " their Bishopricks, with a high hand, and " put into their places, such as were fittest " for their purpose. By the same means, *England* became *Presbyterian*, as the World became *Arrian*, and yet I hope Mr. *B.* will not charge the Bishops with too much Compliance in that Particular: Nay, in the very next Paragraph, Mr. *B.* does the Bishops Right again, and shews, without thinking of doing them any Justice, how they were not so complying as he represented them before; for he tells us, *That eighty were burn'd by* Valens *in one Ship, and in all the* East, *he Depos'd, Abus'd, Murder'd many that would not forsake the* Nicene *Creed; and then descends to more Particulars of the* Arrian *Persecution.* And now the Reader may cease to wonder, if he find numerous Councils in so short a time, contradicting one the other; since good Bishops are banish'd, depos'd, or murder'd, and Hereticks forc'd upon their Churches. Of this, tho we have not the Particulars of the numbers turn'd out in the *East*, yet we may imagine it, by comparing the *Arrian* Visitation of *Africk*, where there were but four hundred sixty six Bishops in all, and I believe the *Schismaticks* come into the number, who might abhor *Arrianism*, no less than the Catholicks; and then Churches must be of greater Extent even in *Africk* than

§ 2.

Notitia Affr. una cum Facundo Editæ a Sirmondo.

Though Mr. B. makes them 660.

CHAP. IV.

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"their Councils, diſable thoſe that were not "for their Turn, turn honeſt men out of "their Biſhopricks, with a high hand, and "put into their places, ſuch as were fitteſt "for their purpoſe. By the ſame means, *England* became *Presbyterian*, as the World became *Arrian*, and yet I hope Mr. *B.* will not charge the Biſhops with too much Compliance in that Particular: Nay, in the very next Paragraph, Mr. *B.* does the Biſhops Right again, and ſhews, without thinking of doing them any Juſtice, how they were not ſo complying as he repreſented them before; for he tells us, *That eighty were burn'd by* Valens *in one Ship, and in all the* Eaſt, *he Depos'd, Abus'd, Murder'd many that would not forſake the* Nicene *Creed; and then deſcends to more Particulars of the* Arrian *Perſecution.* And now the Reader may ceaſe to wonder, if he find numerous Councils in ſo ſhort a time, contradicting one the other; ſince good Biſhops are baniſh'd, depos'd, or murder'd, and Hereticks forc'd upon their Churches. Of this, tho we have not the Particulars of the numbers turn'd out in the *Eaſt*, yet we may imagine it, by comparing the *Arrian* Viſitation of *Africk*, where there were but four hundred ſixty ſix Biſhops in all, and I believe the *Schiſmaticks* come into the number, who might abhor *Arrianiſm*, no leſs than the Catholicks; and then Churches muſt be of greater Extent even in *Africk* than

§ 2.

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than Mr. *B.* fancies them: all these were call'd before King *Hunnericus*, to give an account of their Faith, of whom but eighty eight fell away, and three hundred seventy eight persever'd: It seems, the majority of Bishops was not then so complying, as they are injuriously represented in this History.

St. *Basil*, in the Descriptions he makes of the lamentable Estate of the *Eastern* Churches, does not complain of the Temporizing, and Compliance of the Bishops, but of the hard measure they receiv'd, and how they were generally turn'd out by the *Arrians*. Thus that excellent Bishop complains to his Brethren of the *West*, "The Shepherds are "driven away, that the Flocks might be "dissipated. And a little farther, There is "no Criminal condemn'd without some "Evidence, but *Orthodox* Bishops are pu-"nish'd without any proof at all; some "of them never saw their Accusers, and "were never brought to any Bar, nor were "ever indicted of any Misdemeanour; but "secretly, in the Stilness of the Night, were "hurried away into Banishment, and dy'd "with the Hardships of the Wilderness; and "though we should be silent, yet the World "cannot be ignorant of the Banishment of "the Priests and Deacons, and of the Havock "that is made of the whole Clergy. And in another Place, "Among all the Dioceses "of the Bishops those that are the most emi-

Basil. *Ep.* 70.

Ep. 220.

" eminent Aſſertors of the Faith, are driven " out of their Country, by Calumnies and " falſe Accuſations, and others brought in " who lead Captive the Souls of the igno- " rant.

And if you would know what perſons they were that made up the *Arrian* Councils, the ſame Author tells you, they were ſuch as they put into the places of thoſe good men that were turn'd out; " Men that would not fail to ſerve them, Baſil. " (the *Arrians* that put them in) to the Ep. 69. " Deſtruction of the true Faith, and were " the Slaves and Inſtruments of thoſe that " promoted them in their Revenge up- " on the *Orthodox* Doctrine. And now judge, whether it was the Compliance of the Biſhops, or the Violence of the Hereticks, that made ſo great and ſudden Change in the Church, and in the Doctrines of Councils.

In reckoning up the principal things § 4. p. 66. done in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, he makes the Depoſition of *Gregory Naz.* to be one againſt all Hiſtory, and againſt himſelf in the next page, where he ſays, " That *Gregory*, ſeeing the Reſo- " lutions, and offended with the furi- " ous Carriage of the Biſhops in the Council, reſigneth to the Emperour, and departeth: Let them be reſolv'd upon calling him out as much as they will, yet it was not done, only they put another

into his place, which was made vacant by his voluntary Resignation.

p. 66. § 7. Upon this account he represents this Council in a most odious manner, and for this end, makes use of the words of *Nazianz.* speaking of the general Corruptions of the Times, and the Divisions of the Church, (and what Age has been so happy, as not to labour under these Evils?) But he has mangled and disjoynted the Words of that eloquent Father, more barbarously than ever the Bishops or their Councils did the Church: *The Courtiers, whether true to the Emperour, I know not, but for the most part, perfidious to God.* This is in the Close of his Speech in the Council, among those passionate Valedictions; but Mr. *B.* joyns with it, his sharp Reproof of the Bishops, page 524. where we may observe his wonted Candour; for *Nazianz.* speaking of the Factions of the Bishops, under these Metaphors, Μεταζεύγνύμεν, ἀντιζεύγνύμεν, ἀντιφρυασσόμεθα μικρῶ ἢ τὸν ἀέρα παίομεν. Mr. *B.* thought fit to render it, Raging like furious Horses in Battel, and leaves out the Μικρῶ, *Almost*; to make the Satyr more full, writes, and like Madmen, casting Dust into the Air. And, as he thought fit to leave out in one place, so he adds in another, to the Words and Sense of *Nazianzen*;

Gregor. Orat. in Synod.

anzen; therefore he profeſſes, "That it "is unſeemly for him to joyn with them "in their Councils, as it were, to leave "his Studies and Quietneſs, to go play "with the Lads in the Streets. To joyn with them in their Councils, is an addition of *Mr. B.* the words of *Gregory* are theſe, Οὕτως ἂν εἰ φερόντων καὶ φερομένων τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸς τι βέλτιον τῶν πολλῶν γινωσκῶν, δεξαίμεν ἂν ἐκείνων εἶς εἶναι μᾶλλον, ἢ ὅπερ εἰμὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀφανίας ἐλεύθερος. "In like manner, "it would not become me, (who know "better things than the multitude) whilſt "others buſtle in a Crowd, to chooſe ra- "ther to be one of them, than to enjoy "my Liberty with Obſcurity. There is nothing reflects upon this Council, before which this Oration was ſpoken, but only repreſenting the great Trouble that would attend the Office of a Biſhop, and eſpecially, the Biſhop of the Imperial City, that he might obtain the Requeſt he had made before, and which all this lamentable Deſcription of the Church is deſign'd to recommend; he deſires to be diſmiſs'd, *Give me* (ſays he) *The Reward* p. 23. *of my Labour*; What? "Not ſuch as ſome "envious men may think, but ſuch as I "may ſafely ask; give me Reſt and Eaſe "from my long Labours, have Compaſ- "ſion on my gray Hairs, have ſome Re-

" ſpect to a Stranger, and put another in-
" to my place, who may be vex'd and
" diſturb'd in my Stead; ſuch as hath
" clean hands, and an eloquent Tongue;
" ſuch as is able to gratifie you in all
" things, and may be ſufficient to joyn
" with you in an effectual Care for the
" Church: But as for me, you ſee how
" I am waſted with Time, and Labour,
" and Sickneſs -----

Ch. Hiſt. p. 67.

The Verſes cited out of *Gregory*, do not concern this Council at all, but repreſent the miſerable Diſtractions of the Church, at that time he accepted the Biſhoprick of *C. P.* and his chief deſign in it, was, to reconcile, if it were poſſible, theſe Differences, which were occaſion'd by Hereticks, who envy'd the Orthodox Biſhops, and had a violent Paſſion for their Chairs. However, Mr. *B.* will have it, *That he ſpake all this and a great deal more of this Council of* C. P. *one of the four which is equal'd to the four Evangeliſts.* He does indeed in ſeveral places find fault with this Council, but is far from making ſuch a Riot as this; and, it ſeems, he had a great many Friends in it, as appears by their Diſſention concerning him, which he put an end to, by a voluntary Reſignation of his Place: and it is evident from his own Account, that the Council had not agreed upon his Depoſition till after his Reſignation; for,

1 Carm. de vita ſua.

Carm. de vita ſua.

for, after his Speech, he ſays, That a confus'd Murmur follow'd, and the younger men brought the old over, I ſuppoſe, to accept of this Offer, that ſince his Caſe did give ſome occaſion of Diſſention, the prudenteſt way was to take him at his Word, and ſo end the Quarrel.

But it ſeems, *Gregory* did reſent the Injury, and did not bear the Deprivation of his Biſhoprick, with the ſame Generoſity he propos'd, which made him a little more ſharp than was decent, in his Repreſentation of the Biſhops; but from hence to conclude againſt the Biſhops, as the Diſturbers of all the World, would argue as little Judgment as it would Charity; for Orators draw ſomething bigger than the Life, and Satyriſts love to aggravate. The Age, though wicked enough, may not be as wicked as a zealous Preacher might repreſent it; all men are Lyars, ſays *David* in his Haſte; and St. *Paul*, when he was neglected by his own Friends, concluded generally, All ſeek their own, and not the things that are Chriſt's; and what wonder, if this holy man, ſharpen'd with Diſcontent, ſhould exclame, with ſomewhat too great a Paſſion, againſt the Adminiſtration of the Church, which he had been forc'd to quit. His Cenſure of Councils, that he knew none of them have any happy End, was not the fault of the Expedient for ending of Diſ-

Differences, but of the men, and particularly, of the Hereticks, that were uppermoſt moſt part of his time, for he does frequently profeſs a great Veneration for the Council of *Nice*, and was one of the greateſt Champions for it in his time.

p. 89. § 9. The Caſe of *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, both Orthodox Biſhops of *Antioch*, was ſomething nice, and determined very tenderly, that both ſhould be allow'd equally the Adminiſtration of that Church, but with a Proviſion, that this Indulgence ſhould never be drawn into a Precedent, and that the Surviver ſhould govern alone. *Flavianus*, an ambitious, popular Presbyter, after *Meletius* his Death, is elected Biſhop, in oppoſition to *Meletius*, which was the occaſion of much Trouble in the Church. The Expedient ſo extraordinary, ſhew'd the Moderation that was us'd to end the firſt Schiſm: but *Flavianus* can have no excuſe, who, againſt the Canons, and the Intereſt and Peace of the Church, and againſt his own Oath, ſet up himſelf againſt his lawful Biſhop.

Socr. l. 5. c. 5. Sozom. l. 7. c. 3. Socr. l. 5. c. 10. 15.

Mr. *B*'s Obſervation is, *That even good Biſhops cannot agree, nor eſcape the Imputation of Hereſie*; which refers to *Lucifer Calaritanus*. It is much to be lamented, that good men cannot rightly underſtand one another, but ſo it has ever been, and the Apoſtles themſelves had miſunderſtandings; but this is no

no more incident to Biſhops, than to any other good men: it is the effect of Humane Frailty, from which, no Dignity, no Title, can ever free us.

The Hiſtory of the *Priſcillianiſts* is related by Mr. *B.* with his uſual Ingenuity; for, all along, he obſerves this Rule, to be very favourable to all Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, be they never ſo much in the wrong, and to fall upon the Orthodox Party, and to improve every miſcarriage of theirs into a mighty Crime. Theſe *Priſcillianiſts* joyn'd the monſtrous Opinions and Practices of the *Gnoſticks* and *Manichees* into one Hereſie; and, beſides their blaſphemous Conceits concerning this World's being created by the Devil, and our Saviour's deſcending gradually through the ſeveral Spheres of Heaven, they were monſtrous in their lewdneſs, and promiſcuous Fornications, men of no Faith, whoſe Principle was this, *Jura, perjura, Secretum prodere noli*: Theſe men, after they had been condemn'd by ſome Councils, (and very juſtly, I hope) got, by the means of ſome Mercenary Courtiers, the Emperour's Protection, and his Order to be reſtor'd after they had been baniſh'd. *Ithacius*, and ſome other Biſhops, the moſt zealous Oppoſers of this Sect, applied themſelves to *Maximus* the Tyrant, deſiring him to ſuppreſs theſe Hereticks by the Sword. In ſhort, *Priſcillian*, and ſeveral others,

p. 70. § 13.

Aug. de Hær. c. 70.

Sulp. Sev. l. 2. prope fin.

others, after they had been condemn'd by the Council of *Bourdeaux*, were put to death at *Treves*, by *Maximus* his Order; and, how justly, let the Reader judge, by this Relation of *Sulpitius Severus*; *Priscillianum gemino judicio auditum, convictumque maleficii nec diffitentem obscœnis se studuisse doctrinis, Nocturnos etiam turpium fœminarum egisse Conventus, nudumque orare solitum, nocentem pronunciavit.* But, notwithstanding the Sentence were most just, and *Severus* confesses, that these Hereticks were *Luce indignissimi*, yet all good men were offended that Bishops should procure their death, and concern themselves in Bloud: Whereupon, *Theognostus* excommunicates *Ithacius* in a Council at *Treves*, as *Baronius* tells us, though *Severus* brings in *Maximus*, perswading St. *Martin* to joyn with *Idacius*, who had been condemn'd by none but *Theognostus*, and that upon a private Quarrel.

l. 2.

Bar. An. 385. 29. & an. 386. 25. ubi supra.

Ch. Hist. p. 71.

St. Martin, sayes Mr. B. *renounced the Communion of the Bishops and their Synods.*] One would imagine, that now *Martin* the Saint were become *Martin Marr-Prelate*, and turn'd *Presbyterian*; but no such matter, he renounc'd only the Communion of *Ithacius* his Party, and that others did as well as he. *Theognostus*, *Ambrose*, *Studius*, and several others, scrupled Communion with these men polluted with Blood: how justly, I will not pretend to determine,

Amb. Ep. 58. 75. Conc. Taur. c. 5.

mine, but Mr. *B.* cannot complain, if he calls to mind how often he reproaches and derides the Tenderneſs of the Biſhops, that are content to enjoyn Penance upon great Malefactors, that had taken Sanctuary in the Church: There he pleads with *Idacius*, that it is pity they ſhould live, and that the Gallows ſhould be deprived of its due: However, forgetting himſelf, he makes this a Plea for Separation [*and which ſhews a Divine juſtification for Separation from the Biſhops and Synods of ſuch a way; yea, though of the ſame Religion with us, and not ſo corrupt as the Reformation found the Roman Papacy and Clergy:*] p. 72. § 19. This Divine Juſtification is the Angel's Reproof of *Martin* for having communicated with the *Ithacians* once, to ſave the Lives of ſome Eminent Perſons. How far the Hiſtorian is to be credited in theſe marvellous Relations of St. *Martin*, I am as loth to determine as Mr. *B.* but ſure it is, that, all things conſider'd, though St. *Martin* may paſs for a great Saint, yet ſeveral of his actions ſhew more Simplicity and Zeal, than Knowledge or Diſcretion; for, though it were much to his credit to be ſollicited to an Emperour's Table, yet it was a great want of Duty to prefer his own Prieſt to the Emperour and Nobles, in outward expreſſions of reſpect: and, though it was great Devotion in the Empreſs to condeſcend to be his Cook and *Sulp. Sev. Vit. Mart.* *Sivir.*

and Serving-maid, yet it was no great ſign of Humility in him to accept the ſervice. For my part, I muſt confeſs, I ſhould be very loth to ſeparate from the Communion of a Church, whoſe Doctrines I could not except againſt, merely upon this Divine Juſtification, and the Example and Miracles of St. *Martin*.

But this Inſtance could become no man worſe than Mr. *B.* who, in a Letter to Dr. *Hill*, confeſſes himſelf to have been a man of Blood, and therefore deſpairs of the honour of ever being inſtrumental in the Peace of the Church. If St. *Martin* was ſo far in the right, why does not M. *B.* imitate him? why does he not renounce Communion with thoſe bloody men that inſtigated the Long Parliament and People to rebell, that preſſed the King's death, and defended it when it was done? why does he not renounce theſe, eſpecially, ſince they never gave the leaſt ſign of Repentance? Theſe were the men that applied themſelves to the *Maximi* of this Nation, to perſecute, not *Priſcillianiſts*, but a great many Worthy, Honeſt Men: And I need not call to Mr. *B*'s remembrance, who were the ſordid Compliers with theſe Uſurpers, who compar'd *Cromwel* to *David*, and his wiſe Son to *Solomon*: but this has tranſported me a little too far; and, to ſay truth, who can forbear, where men have the confidence to ſuggeſt thoſe things againſt others,

Diſpat. 1. Ep. Ded. to *R. Cromwel.*

others, that they ſtand moſt notoriouſly guilty of themſelves?

The next thing, worth Reflection, is, his Remark upon the Council of *Capua*: *This Council* (ſayes he) *had more wit than many others, and order'd, that both Congregations,* Flavian's *and* Evagrius's, *being all good Chriſtians, ſhould live in loving Communion: O that others had been as wiſe, in not believing the Prelates that perſwaded the World, that it is ſo pernicious a thing for two Churches and Biſhops to be in one City, as* Peter *and* Paul *are ſaid to be at* Rome.] §. 20.

Whatever *Wit* this Council had, it ſeems Mr. *B.* ſhews little, in miſtaking it ſo groſsly: for the Council of *Capua* never order'd that the two oppoſite Biſhops and Congregations at *Antioch*, ſhould joyn in loving Communion; but only that the Eaſtern Biſhops, that had divided themſelves upon that occaſion, ſome taking part with *Flavianus*, others with *Evagrius*, that theſe *ſhould be received into the Communion of the Catholick Church, if they were Orthodox in the Faith*: ſo that if the Schiſm at *Antioch* could not be compos'd, the Miſchief ſhould not go any further, or divide the Catholick Church; as St. *Ambroſe* writes to *Theophilus Alex. Cui bonæ pacis naufragio Synodus Capuenſis tandem obtulerat poſſum tranquillitatis, ut omnibus per totum Orientem daretur Communio Catholicam confitentibus fidem, & duobus eſtis tuæ ſanctitatis* *Conc. Cap.* *Ambroſ. Theoph. Ep. 78.*

Exa-

Examen impertiretur: And now Mr. B's violent Exclamation againſt thoſe who would perſwade the World, that it is ſo pernicious a thing to have two Biſhops in the ſame City, might have been ſpar'd: but this is to be pardon'd, when we conſider, that a Gun makes the ſame noiſe, whether it hit, or miſs the mark.

Ch. Hiſt. §. 21. P. 72. *But this Council condemn'd a new Hereſie (Hereticating was in faſhion)* viz. *of one Biſhop* Bonoſus, *denying* Mary *to have continu'd a Virgin to her death.* Here Mr. B. makes himſelf pleaſant with his own Dream; for, ſurely, no man, with his Eyes open, ever ſaw this Condemnation of *Bonoſus* by the Council of *Capua*, which determines only, that the neighbouring Biſhops ſhould judge between him (*Bonoſus*) and his Accuſers: *ſed cum hujuſmodi fuerit Concilii Capuenſis judicium, ut finitimi* Bonoſo *atque ejus accuſatoribus Judices tribuerentur, & præcipuè* Macedones, *qui cum Epiſcopo* Theſſalonienſi *de ejus factis cognoſcerent, advertimus quod nobis judicandi forma competere non poſſet.*

Ambr. Ep. 79.

§. 23. *Next* (ſayes our Author) *we have a ſtrange thing, a Hereſie raiſed by one that was no Biſhop: but the beſt is, it was but a lit-Hereſie; that of* Jovinian.] But how! is it ſo ſtrange a thing that a Hereſie ſhould be raiſed by one that is no Biſhop? is this the firſt? was *Simon Magus* a Biſhop? or did he not turn Heretick becauſe he was not

not made one? *Cerinthus, Ebion, Marcion, Valentinus, Artemon, Arrius* &c. were they Biſhops? I ſuppoſe it will be a hard matter to find any Biſhops to have been the Authors of any Hereſie, for a long while after Chriſt; and even thoſe that gave names to Hereſies, were not the firſt that gave them being, as we ſhall ſhew more particularly hereafter.

It is ſtrange (ſayes Mr. *B.*) *that* Binnius *vouchſafes next, to add out of* Socrates (*when he hereticates him alſo*) *a Council of the* Novatians.] And why ſhould it be ſo ſtrange, ſince *Binnius* ſets down a great many more Councils that were Heretical in his opinion? But, let Mr. *B.* enjoy his wonder, when he is in the fit, he muſt give others leave to wonder a little too, at the Tranſports of a man that pretends ſo much to moderation [*that would ſay, as loud as I can ſpeak, if all the proud, ambitious, hereticating part of the Biſhops had been of this mind; O, what Sin, what Scandal, and what Shame, what Cruelties, Confuſions, and Miſeries had the Chriſtian World eſcap'd!*] And what is all this about? *The leaving* Eaſter *indifferent*; *i. e.* Whether it be to be obſerv'd with the Jews, or the Chriſtian Church? And yet Mr. *B.* in this very Paragraph, finds fault with ſilencing of Miniſters that would not keep it at the wrong time. If all times be indifferent to obſerve it in, what time

§. 24.

Ch. Hiſt. p. 73. § 24.

is wrong? and who changes the nature of things indifferent, the Biſhops, or thoſe that make a Conſcience of Obſerving it upon a miſtaken time? He is very much here in the Commendation of the *Novatians*, as if none had ever obſerv'd this Moderation but theſe Schiſmaticks. Did not *Irenæus*, and many other good Biſhops, ſhew the ſame moderation before *Novatian* was born? But theſe Hereticks, than whom there never was a more proud, Phariſaical ſort of men, muſt have the Honour of it, when it was their neceſſity that put them upon this Indulgence one towards another: and, that you may underſtand how peaceably they behav'd themſelves in this preſent caſe, take this ſhort account of it out of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, who, if they were not *Novatians* (as moſt Learned men, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, are of Opinion) were too great Favourers of that Sect, as all complain of them.

Socr. l. 5. c. 20. *Sozom.* l. 7. c. 18.

The *Novatians*, in the time of *Valens* the Emperour, did think fit, for Reaſons unknown, to change the Rule for the Obſervation of *Eaſter*, which, by the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, was become, in a manner, Univerſal. It may be they would have no Obſervance common

mon with the Catholick Church, and eſpecially at that time, when they were all under the ſame Perſecution, and the Catholicks deſir'd a Reconciliation with them; and therefore they flew off, as much as they could, to avoid ſuch a Conjunction: However, this Innovation did not ſo generally obtain among the *Eaſtern Novatians*, but that the contrary Uſage prevail'd almoſt every where in a ſhort time. *Sabbatius*, a Convert *Jew*, ordain'd Prieſt by *Marcianus*, the *Novatian* Biſhop of *C. P.* began to favour the *Jewiſh* time of obſerving *Eaſter*, eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Pazus*; and for this, and the pretence of greater Purity, began to ſeparate from the Church; He is call'd upon to ſhew the Reaſons of his Separation, and declares his greateſt Grievance is about *Eaſter*. The *Novatian* Biſhops, perceiving this was but a Pretence, and that his real Diſeaſe was the deſire of being a Biſhop, were reſolv'd to take away this Excuſe, and leave it indifferent for every one to ob-

ſerve *Eaſter* when he thought fit. And what was the Iſſue? He ſeem'd to be ſatisfied for ſome time, till he found he had ſome Followers, and an Opportunity to ſet up a Congregation for himſelf; and then, notwithſtanding his Compliance, turn'd Schiſmatick: ſo little good does Conceſſion do with men that are ſet upon Separation. So that though you ſhould take away all Rule and all Order, yet there is a ſort of men, that a Wantonneſs of Spirit has made reſtleſs, that would never be ſatisfied; the Diſeaſe is fed by Conceſſion, and then it is moſt violent, when they know not what they would have.

p. 73. § 25. "A great Council (*ſays our Hiſtorian*) was call'd at *Hippo*, and *Auguſtin* "yet a Presbyter, was there: Good men "will do well, and moſt of the *African* "Councils were the beſt in all the "World? And why would you judge? "Becauſe their Biſhopricks were but like "our Pariſhes, and they ſtrove not who "ſhould be the Greateſt, or domineer. I am content he ſhould like any Councils or Biſhops, but I am afraid, this good

good Opinion will not continue long; for the Reaſon of his good Liking is a great Miſtake, that they were Biſhops according to his own Model, *Whoſe Dioceſes were no bigger than our Pariſhes.* But ſurely this cannot be; for all *Africa*, from *Tangier* to *Ægypt*, had but four hundred ſixty ſix Biſhopricks, which were thus divided according to the Provinces. Notitia Affr.

1. *Proconſularis.*	54.
2. *Numidia.*	125.
3. *Provincia Bizac.*	107.
Sees without Biſhops.	006.
4. *Maurit. Cæſar.*	120.
without Biſhops.	006.
5. *Maurit Sitifens.*	044.
6. *Tripolis.*	005.
7. *Sardinia.*	008.

There is ſome Difference between the Sum in groſs, and the Particulars, which will not agree, though you ſhould deduct the twelve vacant Sees, for then the Particulars will not come up to the Sum of four hundred ſixty ſix: And now judge, whether the *African* Biſhopricks were not bigger than our Parithes, by comparing the vaſt Extent of *Africk*, with our *England*, which is not near ſo big as ſome of thoſe Provinces: and

yet the Biſhopricks of *Africk* were multiply'd thus occaſionally, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, and cannot preſcribe to other Countreys: Nor could the Churches of *Africk*, notwithſtanding the Multitude of their Biſhops, and Narrowneſs of their Dioceſes, keep themſelves in Peace any more than their Neighbours, but were divided as ſoon as any, and their Diviſions were as long and irremediable as their Neighbours; And indeed, Schiſm came over from hence into the other parts of the World with *Novatus*, and who taught the *Roman* Presbyters firſt, to ſet up againſt their Biſhops. In ſhort, there was no where a greater Breach, nor more extravagant Schiſmaticks, who oppos'd themſelves, not only againſt the Diſcipline of the Church, but the Civil Government too. Now, leſt this may put our Author out of Conceit with the Biſhops and Councils of *Africk*, as well as the reſt; I muſt put him in mind of his own Remark, *That good men will do well*, whether they be Biſhops or not, whether they have large or ſmall Dioceſes, and a very good man in a very great Dioceſs, will do an extraordinary deal of good.

§. 9. p. 73. A *Donatiſt* Council at *Bagai*, had three hundred and ten Biſhops, who condemn'd *Maximianus*; and upon this Council, Mr. *B.* makes two obſervations. 1. *How great a number the Donatiſts were, and upon what*

Pre-

Pretence, as over-voting them) they call'd others Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. Very unjuſtly no doubt, for they were Hereticks and Schiſmaticks themſelves ſtill, notwithſtanding their Increaſe; Multitude may render a Sect formidable, but it is but a poor Argument of Right. 2. How ſmall Biſhopricks then were, the number tells us; not ſo ſmall as our Pariſhes, though the *Donatiſts* did uſe all means in the World to multiply them, and to ſtrengthen their Party.

The Council of *Turin* order'd, That Communion ſhould not be deny'd *Felix*, one of *Ithacius* his Party, and not the contrary, according as the falſe Reading of *Binnius*; So *Sirmond.* in loc. *Male enim in vulgatis qui Felici non communicant, abeſt enim in Manuſcriptis Negatio.* p. 74. § 30. Vid. Conc. Sirm.

Another Carthage *Council, call'd the ſecond, which* Binnius *ſaith, was the laſt, is plac'd next*; and ſo our Author takes it. This Miſtake *Binnius* takes from *Baronius*, as *Labbe* ſhews, *Erravit poſt Baronium* Binnius *verè enim hoc Concilium celebratum fuit.* Anno 390. *Sub Genethlio deceſſore Aurelii cujus nomen necnon* Alypii *exulat à MS. optimæ notæ.* The Canons that Mr. *B.* inſtances from hence, in favour of his Congregational Church, will not comply with his Deſign; *That the Biſhops only, had the Power of making Criſme, and all the Prieſts were to receive it from him, that the Biſhop* § 31. *Conc.* T. 2. *p.* 1158. *ibid.*

alone, was to reconcile Penitents publickly; this may consist with a great many Congregations, and the Canon, "Reconciliare quem-
Can. 3. "quam in publicâ Missâ Presbytero non licere; may probably, extend only to the Cathedral Service, and that the Priest should not do this in the Presence of the Bishops, as he is forbid several other Acts, which he is supposed to do apart, and in the Bishops Absence, but with the Supposition
Can. 4. of his Consent. The fourth Canon expresses the Absolution of Penitents, by *Reconciliare sacris Altaribus*, the plural; tho, it must be confess'd, it is improper, for there was but one principal Altar, that was properly so call'd, though several Communion-Tables depending upon the great Altar, there might be in the same Diocess, unless the reconciling to one Church, be reckon'd a Reconciling to all other parts of the Catholick Church.

Can. 5. The fifth Canon is disingeniously cited by Mr. *B.* thus, "When Christians were "multiply'd, they that desir'd a Bishop in "a place that had none before, might have "one; but he leaves out the Consent of "the Bishop, out of whose Diocess that "other is taken, which is made absolute-"ly necessary. *Diœcesis quæ nunquam Episcopos habuerunt, non habeant, & illa Diœcesis quæ aliquando habuit habeat proprium, & si accedente tempore, crescente fide, Dei populus multiplicatus desiderarit proprium habere rectо-*

rectorem, ejus videlicet voluntate in cujus potestate est Diœcesis constituta habeat Episcopum. Which is confirm'd by the third Council of *Carthage*, where it is added, That since, upon this occasion, many ambitious Priests did seduce some Congregations to desire them for their Bishops, for this very Reason, "Propter malos "eorum cogitatus & pravè concinnata "Concilia hoc dico, non debere rectorem "accipere eam plebem quæ in Diœcesi sem- "per subjacuit, nec unquam proprium "Episcopum habuit. This is made yet more difficult by other Canons, that require, that no People that have before had Bishops, should have any, but by the Approbation of a full Provincial Council, with the Consent of the Primate, and the Bishop of the Dioceſe.

Conc. Carth. 3. Can. 42. Codex. Int. Eccles. Affr. c. 53. Conc. Affr. c. 20. Integ. Cod. Can. 98. Conc. Affr. 65.

He mentions several other Councils of *Carthage*, some whereof, are Collections of Canons, which *Binnius* mistook for particular Councils; but there is little that he cites out of them, that favours either his Model of Episcopacy, or his design to disgrace Bishops; some however, I am oblig'd to take notice of, as first, *That the Bishop's Cottage should not be far from the Church*; the Word is, *Hospitiolum*, not quite so poor as a Cottage; for it was to be the Refuge of the Poor, and the Inn of Strangers, and a place fit for Hospitality; but it is not hard to guess, why this

Ch. Hist. P. 74.

this is particularly noted in the Margin; for, it may be, that he may have a great Paſſion to have this Canon executed. Envy is a Paſſion, may ſlay the ſilly one, but it is much more comfortable, to be the Object of his Envy than Contempt. There are others that order the Biſhops, *to regard the Presbyters as his Brethren*, and they are much to blame, that do not; but there are others innumerable, that command the Presbyters to obſerve their Biſhops as their Governours, as their Fathers, as the Vicegerents of Chriſt. 52. is ſomething odd, and ſhews the Poverty of the *African* Church, that a Clerk, or Clergy-man, how learned ſoever in God's Word, muſt get his Living by a Trade; this is contrary to the uſage of all other Churches, even in their loweſt times, and to the third Council of *Carthage*, which forbids it. "Item pla-
Can. 15. "cuit ut Epiſcopi & Presbyteri, & Dia-
"coni, vel Clerici non ſint conductores
"neque procuratores, neque ullo turpi vel
"in honeſto negotio victum quærant,
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"mo militans Deo implicat ſe negotiis
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The Story of *Theophilus*, the great Patriarch of *Alexandria*, comes next, whom the ſucceeding Ages of the Church honour'd as a Saint; but Mr. *B.* is in a ſtrait, whether he ſhall believe him to be a *downright Knave*, or *credible*, nay, *moſt credible Socrates* and others, *groſs Lyars*: Yet there is no neceſſity of either, for theſe Hiſtorians might be impos'd upon by falſe Reports, and the Monks that were the Authors of them, were, it may be, *downright Knaves*. §. 73. p. 75. p. 77.

I muſt crave the Reader's patience, whilſt I endeavour to relieve the Memory of this Great man, from the Imputation of Knavery, which *Socrates*, and *Sozomen*, *Palladius*, and ſome others faſten upon it; and with them Mr. *B.* who ſets up their Evidence and Authority.

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Soz. l. 8. 11. "At that time there was a Que-
"ſtion diſputed in *Egypt*, which
"had been ſtarted not long before,
"*Whether God ought to be conceived*
"*under a Humane ſhape?* Moſt of
"the Monks, underſtanding thoſe
"Places of Scripture, which aſcribe
"to God Eyes, and Face, and Hands,
"groſly and literally, fancy'd him
"as a man; others, who could pe-
"netrate farther into the meaning
"of thoſe figurative Expreſſions,
"were of the contrary Opinion,
"and judg'd the other Party to
"ſpeak blaſphemouſly, and unwor-
"thy of God. *Theophilus* taught
"publickly in the Church, that this
"Opinion of the *Anthropomorphites*,
"ought by no means to be em-
"brac'd; and, in his Paſchal Epi-
"ſtle, which he writ, as his Cuſtom
"was, every year, he declar'd, *That*
"*God ought to be conceiv'd Incor-*
"*poreal, and void of Humane ſhape.*
"The *Egyptian* Monks underſtand-
"ing this, came to *Alexandria*, and,
"having got together, made an up-
"roar, and would have murder'd
"the

" the Biſhop: He comes out to them, " and endeavours to appeaſe the " Tumult, by ſaying, *I ſee you as the* " *Face of God*: This ſaying did a " little aſſwage the Tumult, and the " Monks, having abated ſomething " of their rage, reply'd, If thou " think'ſt as thou ſpeakeſt, condemn " *Origen*'s Books, that teach men to " think otherwiſe of God. This, " reply'd *Theophilus*, I intended to " do long ago, and moſt willingly " comply with you in; for I diſlike " *Origen*'s Opinions no leſs than you. " And, having thus cajol'd thoſe " Monks, he appeas'd the Tumult.

There is no downright Knavery in all this; for thoſe words, *I ſee you as the Face of God*, are the words of *Jacob* to his Brother *Eſau*; and his condemning of *Origen*, though not for that which theſe giddy-headed Monks fancy'd, was nevertheleſs very juſt; here was no Lye, though there was a Deceit; and the Danger he was in, the Examples of Holy men in Scripture, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, will Juſtifie or Excuſe him. And now let us purſue the reſt of the Story. Gen. 33. 10.

" This

Soz. l. 8. c. 12. "This Controverſie would likely have been at an end, if *Theophilus* had not reviv'd it, upon a Deſign of ruining *Ammonius*, *Dioſcorus*, *Euſebius* and *Eutychius*, who were ſirnam'd μακροὶ, *long*, or *tall*. These were Brothers, and very eminent among the Monks of *Scetis*, as we have ſhew'd before. These, of all the Monks of *Egypt*, were the greateſt Favourites of *Theophilus*, who entertain'd them frequently at his Houſe, with great kindneſs and Familiarity. *Dioſcorus* he made Biſhop of *Hermenopolis*; but the ground of his Quarrel with them, was his hatred of *Iſidorus*, whom, heretofore, he had endeavoured to have made Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, after the death of *Nectarius*. Some ſay, that when a certain Woman had come over to the Church, from the Hereſie of the *Manichees*, and had been receiv'd to Communion before ſhe had made an abjuration of her former Hereſie; *Theophilus* charg'd the Arch-Presbyter with

Socr. l. 6. c. 7.

" with this Neglect, but he had a
" grudge againſt him before upon
" another account: *Peter* (for that
" was his name) affirm'd, that the
" Woman was receiv'd Regularly,
" according to the Law of the
" Church, and with the conſent of
" *Theophilus* himſelf; and that *Iſi-*
" *dore* could teſtifie all this; which
" he did at his return from *Rome*,
" whither he then was ſent. *Theo-*
" *philus* excommunicated both, as
" having done him wrong, and be-
" ly'd him: This ſome ſay. But, I
" have heard, from a very credible
" Perſon, who convers'd familiarly
" with thoſe Monks at that very
" time, who ſaid, that there were
" two Reaſons of *Theophilus* his fal-
" ling out with *Iſidore*; the one
" common to him and *Peter*, be-
" cauſe they refus'd to witneſs for
" *Theophilus* his Siſter, that a certain
" Perſon had made her his Heir; the
" other particular to *Iſidore*; be-
" cauſe he, being Overſeer of the
" Poor, and having a conſiderable
" Sum of Money in his diſpoſal, re-
" fus'd

" fus'd to re-imburſe the Biſhop
" what he laid out upon the Build-
" ing of Churches, ſaying, That it
" it was far better to refreſh the
" Bodies of the Poor, for whom
" that Treaſure was intended, and
" which were properly the Temples
" of God, than to lay it out upon
" the building of Churches: But,
" whether it were for theſe, or for
" other reaſons, ſo it was, that *Iſidore*
" was excommunicated, and came
" to *Scetis*, to his old Friends the
" Monks. *Ammonius*, taking ſome of
" them along with him, goes to *The-*
" *ophilus*, and deſires him to be re-
" concil'd to *Iſidore*, which, he is
" ſaid then readily to have pro-
" mis'd; but, after ſome time, when
" nothing was done, and they ſaw
" plainly that *Theophilus* did intend
" to put them off, they come again,
" and renew the Requeſt, with great-
" er earneſtneſs, requiring a perfor-
" mance of his Promiſe: He takes
" one of the Monks, and puts him
" in the common Priſon, for a ter-
" rour to the reſt; but this would
" not

" not do; for *Ammonius*, with the
" reſt of the Monks that came with
" him, under pretence of bringing
" Relief to the Priſoners, got into
" the Priſon, and reſolv'd to ſtay
" there with their Companion;
" *Theophilus* hearing this, ſends for
" them, but they at firſt deſir'd him
" to come himſelf and fetch them
" out; for, it was not fit, they ſaid,
" that ſince the Affront they had
" receiv'd was publick, they ſhould
" privately be diſmiſſed; yet, af-
" terwards, they were prevail'd up-
" on to come to him: and he ſent
" them away, after he had begg'd
" their pardon, and promiſed ne-
" ver to moleſt them more. Howe-
" ver, he fretted, and was vexed in
" himſelf, and caſt about how he
" he ſhould do them a miſchief;
" and, ſince they deſpis'd every
" thing in the World but their Phi-
" loſophical Life, he reſolves to at-
" tack them in that part, and to di-
" ſturb their Peace and Quietneſs:
" for, underſtanding by the Diſ-
" courſe he had had with them, and
" the Complaints they were us'd

" to make to him of the *Anthropo-*
" *morphites*, that they were Favou-
" rers of *Origen*, he kindled a dead-
" ly feud between them and the
" Monks of the contrary Opinion,
" which was blown up by their un-
" decent wranglings and Diſputes;
" in which they left the Queſtion,
" and, inſtead of arguing, reproach'd
" one another: So they that be-
" liev'd God Incorporeal, were call'd
" *Origeniſts*, thoſe of the contrary
" Perſwaſion, *Anthropomorphites*.] So
far *Sozomen*.

Socrates differs ſomething in the relation of this matter from *Sozomen*, though, as to the greateſt part, one has copy'd out of the other, yet ſo as to leave it a very hard Queſtion, to determine which is the Original, and which the Copy.

Socr. l. 6. c. 7. *Socrates* ſayes nothing of *Iſidor*'s being the occaſion of this Quarrel, but only, that thoſe Monks, diſliking the Covetouſneſs of *Theophilus*, would live with him no longer, but return'd to their ſolitude; and when *Dioſcorus* was had in great Veneration of the Monks. *Theophilus* envying him, and being angry with his Brethren, reſolv'd to ruin them, by ſtirring up the *Anthropomorphites* againſt them; that he wrote

wrote to the Monks againſt *Dioſcorus*, accuſing him with holding God to be Incorporeal; and that he had no Members like men, as the Scriptures deſcribe him, and by this means he ſet them all together by the Ears. *Iſidor Peluſiota* confirms *Sozomen*, ſo far as to make *Iſidor* to be the ground of this Quarrel, without any particulars, but treats *Theophilus* very outragiouſly, calling him λιθομανῆ καὶ γεωσελάτην. Iſid. Ep. l. 1. Ep. 152.

Now, if we examine theſe Relations impartially, we may obſerve ſeveral things that are very improbable, almoſt impoſſible, to conceive. All theſe men that are ſaid to be perſecuted unjuſtly by *Theophilus*, were ſuch as he had an Extraordinary kindneſs for; and therefore it is not very likely, without ſpecial Provocation, he ſhould ever endeavour to ruine thoſe he took ſo much pains to ſet up: And,

1. As to the Story of *Iſidore*, it is altogether improbable; for this was the man he oppoſed to *Chryſoſtom*, as Competitor for the Biſhoprick of *C. P.* This was he that was intruſted with the great Secret, upon which his Life and Dignity did depend; he that had receiv'd double Orders and Letters to preſent him that ſhould overcome, whether *Theodoſius* or *Maximus*; And, is it likely, he ſhould fall out with this man ſo deſperately about a *punctilio* of reconciling a Heretick Woman? or witneſſing that himſelf muſt know not to be truth?

Is it likely a Perſon ſo Eminent in Place and Reputation, of an extraordinary Fortune too, ſhould ſuborn two the moſt conſiderable men in the Church of *Alexandria*, to forſwear themſelves in favour of his Siſter? Surely, he muſt know them too well, after ſo long an acquaintance and experience, to hazard his Reputation upon ſo unlikely a Project, He muſt know them to be very Evil men, before he would attempt them in that nature; nor is it very likely, that *Iſidore*, conſidering his Obligations to *Theophilus*, ſhould have refus'd him any Money to carry on and ſupport his Magnificence in Publick Buildings.

However, ſuppoſe all this true, they muſt be only private Reaſons, ſuch as *Theophilus* kept ſecret to himſelf; but he muſt find ſome other plauſible Pretence to juſtifie his Excommunication of theſe perſons that were ſo conſiderable in their Place, and Reputation in the World: He could not be ſo brutiſh, as to excommunicate a man, becauſe he would not forſwear himſelf, or rob the Poor to ſerve him. There muſt be ſomething for a Colour, and that theſe *Impartial*, *Credible* Hiſtorians, did both forget; for I ſuppoſe, the Monks from whom they had this Relation, did not care much to inſiſt upon that point, which would make a man ſuſpect, that *Theophilus* his Cauſe might be ſomething juſtifiable; and ſurely,

ſurely, it was very plauſible, when all the World in a manner, did approve it. Thus every Malefactor will give out, that he is perſecuted out of Envy and Malice, and ſuch a one they had diſobliged in this manner, and another became their Enemy upon another Account, but not a word of the Crimes laid to their Charge, or of the Evidence againſt them. No poor men, though they talk'd Sedition or Treaſon, blaſphem'd God or the King, and the Fact be notorious, yet they fall innocent Victims to the Malice or Covetouſneſs of their Judges.

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cur a very odious Character in their History, as many other good men have done upon the same account.

But other Historians, and more credible than *Socrates* or *Sozomen*, discover sufficiently the Vanity of this Fiction: *Posthumianus* was in *Alexandria* immediately after these things happen'd; and let us hear what account he gives of this Affair.

Sulp. Sever. Dial. 1.

"After seven days, we came "to *Alexandria*, where there was "a foul Contention between the "Bishops and the Monks, about "the Books of *Origen*, those con- "demning and forbidding the "reading of them, because of ma- "ny dangerous Errors contain'd "in them; the other Party char- "ging this upon the Hereticks "that had corrupted the Works "of *Origen*. The Contention in "short, grew very high, and the "Bishops according to the Autho- "rity they had, forbid all, good "and bad, because there were Ec- "clesiastical Writers enough, that "might be read with as much Be- "nefit, and much less Danger, and

"and then inſtanc'd in ſeveral pla-
"ces of *Origen*, that were very
"extravagant; but this could not
"ſatisfie the Favourers of *Origen*,
"who began to be in an Uproar,
"which when the Authority of
"the Biſhops could not appeaſe,
"the Civil Magiſtrate is forc'd
"to take the Church-Diſcipline
"into his own hands, *Sævo Exem-*
"*plo*, ſays the Author. Upon this,
"the Monks were terrified, and
"made their Eſcape whither they
"could, and the Edicts of the Ma-
"giſtrates purſued them.

This perſon it ſeems, was no Favourer of *Theophilus*, and yet there is nothing he finds fault with, but the too great Rigour, and the taking of the Governour to ſupply the defect of Church-Diſcipline: yet it ſeems, there was abſolute Neceſſity for it, for theſe Monks had mutiny'd, and rais'd a Sedition, and then ſurely, it is time for the Magiſtrate to look about him. 2. The ſame Hiſtorian repreſents this not as any ſudden ſurprizing Oppreſſion of the Origeniſts; for he mentions ſeveral Synods that had been aſſembled for this purpoſe. 3. He

does not make this the Effect of any particular Quarrel between the Monks and *Theophilus*, but makes the Controverſie to be between the Monks and the Biſhops; and which of them had moſt right to govern the Church, and appoint what Books were, or were not fit to be read?

Ibid. But to return to our Author, he tells us farther,

"The Biſhop of that place entertain'd him very courteouſly, "and beyond what he could have "expected; he made him a kind "Invitation, that he would ſtay, "and live with him, but that he "refus'd, thinking it not fit to "ſtay in a place, *ubi fraterna Cladis "tam recens fervebat invidia.* Then "he adds, That though the Monks "ought likely to have obey'd "the Biſhops, yet, on the other "ſide, they ought not to have "us'd ſo great a Rigor,

Here is not a word of *Theophilus* his Crimes, which he would not have diſſembled, having ſo fair an Occaſion to mention to mention them, and they would have been very proper Reaſons for his Refuſal to ſtay at *Alexandria*, and would have

have very much aggravated the Envy of perſecuting theſe Monks: But here is not a word of *Him*, which the other Biſhops are not as nearly concern'd in as himſelf: and laſtly, here is a plain Confutation of that pretty Story of *Socrates*, That the *Origeniſts* were perſecuted for believing God to be incorporeal; whereas, they were the Errors of *Origen*, as that Chriſt had dyed to ſave the Devils and ſuch like; that the Biſhops objected. And, to ſay Truth, that was a pretty Suggeſtion, that they ſhould be call'd *Origeniſts* for holding God incorporeal. Was *Origen* ſingular in that point? Did not every one that ever had any Reaſon with his Senſe teach the ſame thing? And therefore the other Story of the *Anthropomorphites*, urging *Theophilus* to condemn *Origen* upon the ſame Account, comes under the ſame Suſpition; for, by the ſame Reaſon, they muſt have forc'd him to condemn all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers in the World. Yet ſuch was the Impudence of theſe mutinous Monks, that they were not aſham'd to tell it all the World, that all thoſe that were againſt them, were *Anthropomorphites*; And *Chryſoſtom* was ſo credulous as to believe them, and to charge *Epiphanius* with that Error, to which no man was a more bitter Enemy: Whereas the Controverſie was indeed, whether *Ori-*

Theophilus.

Hieron. Johan.

Origen's Works were to be read, and this was ſtarted ſometime before *Theophilus* was concern'd in it, as appears by St. *Hierom*, who in a Letter to *Tranquillinus*, condemns the paſſionate Haters and admires of *Origen*, he allows him *to be read ſometimes for his great Learning*, *as* Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinaris, *but with Caution, that we chooſe the Good, and avoid the Evil: But if theſe Paſſionate Friends and Enemies of* Origen *will be in the Extream, and will either reject the whole as* Fauſtinus, *or receive and approve the whole, and admit no mean*; his Determination is, *Libentius pium ruſticitatem, quam doctam blaſphemiam Eligam*; which ſhews the Controverſie between the *Orthodox* and the *Origeniſts*, and ſerves likewiſe to vindicate St. *Hierom* from the Imputation of having prevaricated in this caſe, as he is charg'd by *Poſthumianus* and *Ruffinus*, as if once he had been an *Origeniſt* himſelf, and that this Letter was writ before the Troubles about that Queſtion in *Alexandria*, is clear, from the fathering of that Opinion upon *Fauſtinus*, which he would never have done, if it had ſo great Patrons as *Theophilus*, and the Authority of ſeveral Synods to confirm it.

Ep. ad Tranquil. 76. Edic. Mar. Victorii.

Sulp. Sev. D. 1. Rufin. Inv.

And whereas *Theophilus* is repreſented ſo odiouſly by *credible Socrates*, and the Character is believ'd by *credulous* Mr. *B.*

it

it will not be amiſs, to ſee what other as credible men as any of his Enemies ſay of him, whether in general, or with Relation to the Condemnation of the *Origeniſts*: St. *Hierom* blames him for his too great Moderation in this Particular, "Super Nefaria hæreſi quod multam pati- "entiam geris, & putas Eccleſiæ viſceribus "incubantes tuâ poſſe corrigi lenitate "multis ſanctis diſplicet, ne dum pauco- "rum pœnitentiam præſtolaris nutrias au- "daciam perditorum, & factio robuſtior fiat. This does by no means agree with Mr. B's Authors, who intimate, as if he had circumvented and ſurpriz'd them: And in another place, *Dolebamus te nimium eſſe patientem*; and in another Letter, he charges the *Origeniſts* with calumniating *Theophilus* and others, inſtead of anſwering to their charge. Now, for my part, I have as much Reſpect for St. *Jerom*, as our Author has for *Socrates*; and am as loth to believe him a Flatterer that had renounc'd all the Enjoyments of the World, as to think *Socrates* a groſs Lyar; but there is no Neceſſity the Hiſtorian ſhould be ſo, though the Story ſhould prove falſe; for he might be impos'd upon, but *Hierom* has hardly any Excuſe unleſs things were as he repreſents them. It was the Obſervation of a very wiſe man, that he thought himſelf to have hit the Point of Virtue exactly, which he plac'd in

Ep. 68.

Ep. 70.

Ep. 78.

Ariſtotle.

in Mediocrity, when he was charg'd with having declin'd into the two Extremes, by persons of different Interests. How *Theophilus* did, I will not judge, but he has this Mans Judgment in his Favour, for one condemns him with too much Rigour, and others with too much Lenity in one and the same Action; and such *Atticus* a moderate good man, in the Account of *Socrates*, describes him to be, Οἶδα ὃ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα τὸν σὸν τὸν ἰσαπόστολον Θεόφιλον ὅτι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς συγχύσεως τῷ εἰρήνῳ τῆς ἀκριβείας προτετιμηκότα. I knew your Predecessor *Theophilus*, a man equal to the Apostles in time of Confusion, prefer Peace to a punctilious Exactness.

Ep. ad Cyril. ap. Cyril. T. 5. p. 20.

But that which render'd the Cause of the Origenists most invidious, was the involving of *Chrysostom* in the same Quarrel; for he receiv'd these banish'd Monks, when they came to *Constantinople*, perhaps, not so much out of Compassion to them, as out of Purpose to thwart *Theophilus*, whose opposition to his Election he could not have forgot. *Theophilus* resents it too much, and stirs up *Epiphanius* to go and dislodge those Fugitives, which occasion'd great Disorder: At last, *Chrysostom* being in disgrace at Court for having reflected upon the Empress in some of his Sermons, she is resol-

reſolv'd to take the opportunity of his Quarrel with *Theophilus*, and other Biſhops, to revenge her ſelf; a Synod is call'd, and *Chryſoſtom* is depos'd, and afterwards baniſh'd: Thus thoſe troubleſom Monks, like many other Sycophants, ſhifted the Quarrel, and engaged good men in it: and ſo they were ſure to be reveng'd of their Enemies one way or other; if they were worſted, then they triumphed, if they overcame, the Victory muſt make them odious. I do not intend to excuſe *Theophilus* in this Particular, he did certainly proſecute his Reſentment too far, but he was not the only man, *Epiphanius* a perſon of great Holineſs, *Hierom*, and ſeveral other perſons, renoun'd for their Piety, were concern'd in the perſecution of this great man, as well as he: and ſo it is that the beſt men have their Reſentments and Piques, as well as others; and to ſay the Truth, this is their Weakneſs, for that Severity which gives men generally a Reputation of Holineſs, tho it mortifie ſome irregular heats, yet is apt to diſpoſe men to Peeviſhneſs; and what kills ſome Weeds, becomes a Nouriſhment to others.

I have dwelt ſo long upon this, not onely to vindicate *Theophilus*, but to ſhew (once for all) the manner of our Author's dealing with his Reader in his Church-Hiſtory. Any ſcandalous Story, though it be as falſe and improbable as any in the *Anni mirabiles*, or *White's Centuries of Scandalous*

dalous Miniſters, any Fiction, that reflects with diſgrace upon Biſhops and Councils, is ſet down for Authentick, no matter who delivers it, whether Friend or Foe; and there it ſtands, without adding the leaſt hint that as Credible Hiſtorians do contradict, or confute the Calumny.

p.80.§45. He mentions a ſcrap of an *African* Council, to petition the Emperour, that the Priviledges of Sanctuaries ſhould be preſerved inviolable, and no man forc'd away to puniſhment, that had taken Refuge there; *Juſtice was taken for wickedneſs*, (ſayes our Author.) No ſuch thing; they might themſelves deliver the Offender, if they judg'd him unworthy of Mercy; all they deſir'd was, that they ſhould not be forc'd away, or elſe their Sanctuary was no more ſo. It is a hard thing to pleaſe a man that has ſuch contrary Humours. He is offended with the Biſhops, for procuring Juſtice upon *Priſcillian* and his Complices, and calls them *Bloudy Biſhops*, and not to be communicated with; now he is angry with them for being too merciful, and reckoning Juſtice a Crime, which they never did, but deſir'd only, their Sanctuaries might not be forc'd, upon any pretence, for that would utterly deſtroy the merciful Deſign of thoſe Priviledges that were granted ſome Places devoted to Religion; which was, to give Criminals time and opportunity to repent of their wickedneſs.

In

In the Fragments of the Councils of *Toledo*, there is a Canon, that makes a difference between the Offerings made at the *Pariſh Churches*, and thoſe made at the *Altars*. Our Author miſtook the meaning of this Canon, which is thus; *Quæ ad Parochianas Eccleſias offeruntur, in terris, vineis, mancipiis, peculiis*, &c. that is, Whatſoever is given to Pariſh Churches, whether in Land, Vineyards, *&c.* that the Biſhop is to have the diſpoſal of it all; but what is given to the Altars, that is, to the Epiſcopal Church, he has but his Thirds: Yet all this notwithſtanding, Pariſh Churches had Communion Tables, and, whereever there were Congregations, there was the Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper: Nay, before this time, Altars were become much more frequent than our Author would have believ'd; for a Council of *Carthage* forbids the *erecting of Altars in the High-ways, and in the Fields to the memory of Martyrs*, yet the Exception ſhews how numerous they might lawfully be; *niſi aut ibi corpus, aut aliquæ certæ reliquiæ ſunt, aut origo alicujus habitationis, vel poſſeſſionis vel paſſionis fideliſſima origine traditur.* § 47. Conc. Carthag. 4. Sub *Anaſtaſio.*

We have a ſtrange occaſional Remark of our Author, *That Pope* Innocent, *one of the beſt and wiſeſt Popes, excommunicated* Theophilus, Arcadius, *and the* Empreſs *yet did this paſs without contradiction.* I perceive any thing paſſes with him for Hiſtory; § 55.

ſtory; for this Epiſtle of *Innocent*, that mentions the Excommunication of the Perſecutors of St. *Chriſoſtom*, after *Chryſoſtom*'s death, is all forg'd, which *Labbee* does as good as confeſs; for, over againſt the place where the Pope threatens *Eudoxia with Puniſhment in this life as well as that to come*, he notes in the Margin, that *Eudoxia* died before *Chryſoſtom*: Which is a ſufficient proof of the Forgery; for *Eudoxia* died in the year 404. *Oct.* 6. and *Chryſoſtom* in 407. *Nov.* 14. Therefore Mr. B. might well have ſpar'd this Note, and his Author, *Binnius*, might have ſpar'd that wiſe Remark, *That the Pope was a true Prophet, becauſe the Empreſs dy'd ſoon after.*

Ch. Hiſt. p. 82. § 50. Among the Decrees of *Boniface*, one is, that no Biſhop ſhall be brought or ſet before any Judge, Civil or Military, either for any Civil or Criminal Cauſe, *ſo that*, as Mr. *B.* ſayes, *a Biſhop had the priviledge of a bad Phyſician, he might murder and not be hang'd*, &c. This Decree is, I believe, hardly ſo ancient as the fore-mention'd Epiſtle; for we have only the Authority of *Gratian* for it, a man little to be depended upon, unleſs he find Vouchers that are ancienter than himſelf: but any thing will ſerve Mr. *B*'s turn, that will give him occaſion to eaſe his Spleen againſt Biſhops.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the First Council of Ephesus, &c.

OUr Author in the beginning of this Chapter, to prejudice his Reader beforehand against the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, gives the worst account of *Cyril* who was the President of it, that he could patch up out of all the libels and accusations of his Enemies. The first thing he is charged with is the oppression of the *Novatians*. This was enough with *Socrates* or *Sozomen* to paint him as ugly as men do the Devil, or Antichrist: and therefore there is no great credit to be given them in these relations, as manifestly espousing the cause and quarrels of the *Novatians*: But suppose he had us'd severity towards these Schismaticks, it may be they deserved it; and being Schismaticks and *Alexandrians*, it is not unlikely that they were very troublesome and seditious.

p. 84. §. 3.

Socr. l. 7.

Socrates makes it part of his charge that he took upon him the government of temporal affairs, ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Αλεξανδρείας πέρα τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν· and a little before, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀρχικώτερον τοῦ Θεοφίλου παρῆλθε. This

Socr. l. 7. *c.* 7.

was not the usurpation of the Bishop but the indulgence of the Emperour; and the Truth is, that the Church and State being now united, and the Schisms of the one causing inevitable seditions in the other, the Civil Magistrates for the greater security of their Government did think it expedient to invest the Bishop with a coercive power, since their Spiritual authority was contemn'd to the dishonour of Religion, and no less to the disturbance of the State. And it was it seems a crime in *Cyril* to accept this Commission, or to act in pursuance of it: though our Author elsewhere professes that he shall *not dishonour such, nor disobey them.* "But besides the suppressing "of the *Novatian* Conventicles, he is charged "with executing some *Jews*, and banishing "others, which *Oreſtes* took ill, as an in- "croachment upon his office, who was "Governour of the Province. But as "to this he cannot be very much blamed, "for the *Jews* conspired against the Christi- "ans, and resolved to destroy them all in "one night; they gave the alarm that "one of their Churches was on fire, and "as the Christians ran out to quench the "fire, they were murdred by those Villains. "Perhaps *Cyril* did not think this a time "to complement the Governour to the as- "sistance of the Christians, when the dan- "ger they were in was sufficient to call him "away, but animated the people to make "their defence, and to go in quest of these "Mur-

p. 23. sect. 55.

Soz. l. 7. c. 13.

"Murderers; and it was a ſign of his Mo-
"deration that there were but ſome execu-
"ted, and that all were not put to the
"Sword, after ſo barbarous an attempt.

"This or ſomething elſe offended the go- *Socr. l. 7. c. 14.*
"vernour, ſo that he became irreconcile-
"able to *Cyril.* The Biſhop like a good
"man, endeavoured by all means to pro-
"cure a reconciliation, but without effect;
and why is a Biſhop to be worſe thought of,
if a man of quality become his implacable
enemy without cauſe? Five hundred Monks
came from Mount *Nitria* in a fit of wild
zeal to take the Biſhops part; and *Socrates*
cannot ſay that he ſent for them, they light
on the governour and aſſault him; he is
wounded, and hardly eſcapes with life:
But how could *Cyril* help this? or how can
he be charg'd with the extravagance of
thoſe Monks that he had no knowledge of
till they had committed it? But one of
thoſe Mutineers (ſays *Socrates*) that wound-
ed the governour being executed for his
crime, was honour'd by *Cyrill* as a Martyr;
I do very much ſuſpect this ſtory, from
the circumſtance of changing the crimi-
nals name to *Thaumaſius*, and the moſt pro-
bable conjecture that I can make of it, if
there be any ground at all for the ſtory, is,
that the memory of a Martyr of that name
might be honoured by him, which his ene-
mies interpreted to be the Criminal. But
this changing of name is a thing without
precedent, and witho it reaſon; for either

this disguise was put on that it might not be observ'd, and he was ashamed of doing it openly; and then it will not be easie to be certain that this *Thaumasius* was that *Ammonius* who was executed: or if he was the same, and *Cyril* confest it, then it is impossible to imagine a reason why he should use that disguise. But there are men in the world that honour such as Martyrs that were executed, not for Wounding a Governour, but Murdering a King after a most unexampled manner; witness the worthy Martyrologies of *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Cook*, *Peters*, &c. and of *Barkstead*, *Okey*, *Corbett*: with this Motto in the Frontispiece, *these dyed all in Faith*: and innumerable other things that justifie their horrid crimes; and make them Martyrs by the cause of their suffering: I hope they were neither Bishops nor Episcopal men that were so fond of Canonizing these Murderers for Martyrs.

Speeches and Prayers, Printed *A. D.* 1660.

Printed 1652.

Another thing which our Author cites from the professed enemies of *Cyril* to render him odious, was the Murder of *Hypatia*, the famous She-Philosopher; She it seems was barbarously murder'd, but by whom, or upon what occasion is not certain. *Socrates* makes the occasion to have been this, That she being frequently with the Governour was suspected to do *Cyril* evil offices, and to dissuade the Governour from being reconciled to him, therefore some Zealots watched her, and barbarously Mur-

Socr. l. 7. c. 15.

Murder'd her, among whom was one *Peter*, a Reader of the Church, and an admirer of *Cyril*. And this (continues the ſame Hiſtorian) brought a great reproach upon *Cyril* and the Church of *Alexandria*.] But he cannot charge the Biſhop of being by any means conſcious to it: and though it were done upon his account by violent heady Zealots; yet he could be no further guilty than he contributed to it, by his countenance or conſent. *Damaſcius* in the life of *Iſidore* the Husband of this *Hypatia* charges *Cyril* directly with this Murder; but his credit ſignifies very little, as being in the firſt place a Heathen, and a violent enemy of the Chriſtians; and ſecondly, being more remote from theſe times, for he liv'd in the reign of *Juſtinian*; *Valeſius* cites the paſſage at large out of him, and promiſes to publiſh much more of him than we have had hitherto: This is taken out of *Suidas*, who I believe cites the whole out of this Author: In the beginning he makes it dubious who were the Authors of the death of *Hypatia*, *Some* (ſays he) *faſten it upon* Cyril, *others upon the* Alexandrians, *the moſt ſeditious of all mankind*: *as may be ſeen by their murdering ſome of their own Biſhops*; all which I ſuppoſe are the words of this *Damaſcius*: Then he goes on to give a more particular account of this Woman; and makes *Cyril* to conceive this envy againſt her, becauſe *on a certain time paſſing by her houſe, and ſeeing what great re-*

Suidas in Damaſcius.

Valeſ. Annot. in Socr. l. 7. c. 15.

sort there was to her, and what a number of Coaches were at her door, he resolved to make her away. This whole story is altogether improbable, for *Hypatia* was an *Alexandrian* born and bred, and so publickly known, that *Cyril* who was bred in the same place could not be so great a stranger to her as that story makes him to be after he was a Bishop. He could not be ignorant of her or her School, without being the greatest stranger in *Alexandria*: In short, this is no other than a calumny invented by this *Damascius* to render the Christians odious, which he endeavoured to do upon all occasions, as *Photius* tells us. For this is the character he gives of this Author, ἔστι μὲν περὶ τὰ θεῖα εἰς ἀκριβὴς, καινῶν καὶ γραοπρέπων μυθαρίων πεπληρωμένος, διὸ καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν εἰ καὶ δειλιώσῃ καὶ λαβραιοτέρᾳ κακοφροσύνῃ ὅμως οὐκ ὀλιγάκις καθυλακτῶν εὐσεβείας; one that frequently snarls at our religion, though he be afraid to discover his malice too plainly.

Bibliotheca, l.180.

After this, to render *Cyril* more odious yet, *our Author reproaches him with that unhappy quarrel with* Chrysostome, *and his opposition, to the restoring his name to the diptychs of the Church; and his harsh expression that compares that holy man with* Judas.] This quarrel was it seems hereditary to him, and he did prosecute it beyond all equity or decency against the memory of a dead man. This was a fault, and he that is without any, or without any particular animosity, especially if he be in any eminent place, let him

cast

caſt the firſt ſtone. But our Author does charge him with ſome things injuriouſly, as his calling *Alexander* Biſhop of *Antioch*, that perſwaded *Atticus* to reſtore *Chryſoſtoms* name, a bold-fac'd man; the word (though us'd by *Cyril* in his Letter to *Atticus*,) is indeed the expreſſion of *Atticus* in his Letter to *Cyril*, and therefore if there be any indecency in it, it's to be imputed to the firſt Author: But however *Cyril* had behaved himſelf in this affair, it is a little unchriſtian to blaſt his memory with thoſe faults he had corrected in his life time; for though our Author affirms, that no credible Hiſtorian tells us that either *Theophilus* or *Cyril* ever repented of this: yet I believe there is ſufficient evidence to the contrary to perſwade any reaſonable man. For beſides that *Socrates* affirms *Theophilus* before his death to have been reconcil'd to thoſe Monks, upon whoſe account he had quarrel'd with *Chryſoſtome*, *Cyrils* Letter to *Gennadius* ſhews him to have been ſatisfy'd in the buſineſs of *Chryſoſtome*'s Honourable Reſtauration to the Diptychs. "*Gennadius* was a Presbyter of the Church "of *C. P.* and refus'd to communicate with "*Proclus* his Biſhop for receiving the Bi- "ſhop of *Elia* into his communion contra- "ry to the Canons, which do not own that "Biſhop as *Paleſtinæ præpoſitum*. Here *Cy-* "*ril* urges very peaceably, that the ri- "gour of the Canons muſt oftentimes give "way to peace and expedience; whence it

Ep. Cyril. ad Gennad.

appears, 1. That he had chang'd his mind as to the neceſſary maintenance of the Canons, rather than remit any point that would conduce to peace, which was his arguing with *Atticus*; 2. It appears from hence that he held communion with *Proclus*, elſe he had never been ſo urgent with this Presbyter to communicate with his Biſhop; 3. That this communion with *Proclus* ſuppoſes him ſatisfy'd in the reſtitution of *Chryſoſtom*. For this *Proclus* had not only kept his name in the Diptychs, but fetch'd home his bones, and ſo ended that Schiſm of the *Joan*[illegible]; ſo that *Cyril* muſt by this have chang[illegible] judgement concerning *Chryſoſtom*: N[illegible]s Letter to *Atticus*, which our Auth[illegible] cites, lays the greateſt ſtreſs upon this argument, that it will be dangerous to reſtore his name, becauſe it may divide the world again, ſince the greateſt part had expung'd it out of their Diptychs, and could not eaſily be brought either to re-admit it, or to communicate with thoſe that did: But finding the contrary, it ſeems he follow'd the examples of other Churches. The fiction of *Nicephorus* about *Cyril*'s Viſion was (I ſuppoſe) invented to ſalve the reputation of *Cyril*. For ſince after ſo great oppoſition he chang'd his mind; to remove from him the imputation of levity, and to ſhew that he was carry'd away ſincerely, and by an invincible miſtake, he muſt be reconciled by a miracle.

How-

However it were, whether *Cyril* repented of this fault or no, our Author cannot forbear exclaiming, upon the occaſion of *Cyril*'s reſtoring the name of *Chryſoſtom* by the authority of a Synod. *O ductile Synods! O unhappy Churches whoſe Paſtors muſt grow wiſe and ceaſe deſtroying after ſo long ſinning, and by an experience which coſteth the Church ſo dear!*] It had been doubtleſs much better there never had happened any difference between the Paſtors of the Church, but what Church has been ſo happy? what government can ſecure this uninterrupted Peace? Surely our Author cannot pretend to exempt himſelf from the laſh of his own exclamations; for I know no man deeper engag'd in the contentions of the Church, or that has writ with greater bitterneſs on all ſuch occaſions: The writing of a great part of his 80 books being but like ſo many pitch'd battels he has fought, and moſt commonly in the dark, when he was hardly able to diſcover friend from foe: if he ſcorns to be ſo *ductile* as theſe *Synods*, and to recant his miſtakes when they are diſcover'd to him, I pray God give him a better mind, and make him to have a more honourable opinion of repentance.

§. 6. The laſt part of *Cyril*'s accuſation is taken out of *Iſidore*'s Epiſtles, ſome of which are very ſharp: yet I believe when the Reader ſhall have weigh'd the circumſtances duly, this will be no great offence to him; *Iſidore* was certainly a good man, but very

eaſie

easie to take any impressions; and hot in his reproofs: this may be evidently seen in his dealing with *Cyril*. For he reproves him in one place for prosecuting his private quarrels against *Nestorius*, under pretence of Zeal for the faith; yet the same Author in another place advises him not to betray, and give up the cause, χρῆ σε θαυμάσιε ἄτρεπτον μένειν ἀιεὶ: and *rather to suffer any evil that might befal him, than to endure so much as to hear false and pernicious doctrines*. So that the same *Isidore* who reproaches this man upon a false information, retracts afterwards; and gives him commendations no less extravagant than the reproofs he us'd towards him before; for he is very large and passionate in his commendation when he recommends to him the miserable estate of the Church of *Pelusium*, into which it was brought by the covetousness and ambition of one *Martinianus* a Presbyter, τῆς σῆς ἐστιν ὦ πάντων ἄριστε συνέσεώς τε καὶ αὐθεντίας ταῖς κακίαις τῶν ἀρχόντων κοκμηκυίαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον, δυνάμεως καθαρότητι καὶ σπουδῇ ἀνακτήσασθαι: nor is this only a general complement, but he goes on to mention particular instances of his integrity against this *Martinianus*, who after he had robb'd the Church of *Pelusium* sent some part of the money to *Alexandria* to endeavour to procure himself the Bishoprick: *Cyril* having intimation of this practice, rebukes him sharply, and threatens if he go on any further

l.1.Ep.310.

l.1.Ep.324.

l.2.Ep.126.

Is. Pel. l.2. Ep.126. O thou best of men, it belongs to thy Wisdom and Authority, to rescue the poor Church of *Pelusium* from the Hands of evil Governours.

ther in this base course so dishonourable to Religion, that he will not only excommunicate, but have him banish'd. Whereupon *Isidore* applys himself to him in expressions of the greatest admiration of his integrity, and does not know how to call him by a title good enough; ὦ τί σε καλήσας ἀξίως προσείπω; Whoever is the least acquainted with the Spirit and temper of *Isidore* will hardly suspect him of flattery, but that he was the real Convert of this great Bishop, and by these commendations of him endeavoured to make honourable amends, and to wash off the dirt he had before rashly cast upon his name. If I should take the pains to gather the hands of the Fathers, and to set down the glorious testimonials they give of *Cyril*; I believe few Saints could shew greater evidence of their merit towards the Church, *Gloriosissimus fidei Catholicæ Defensor*, and *Cyrillus Alexandriæ Episcopus vir omni sapientia & Sanctitatis exemplo clarissimus, probatissimus Sacerdos*, &c.

What Compellation shall I use that may be suitable to so great worth?

Prosper. contra collat. c. 41. Celest. Ep. ad Nest.

But *Theodoret* it seems was never truly reconcil'd to him: for in his Epistle to *Johannes Antioch.* he looks upon the death of *Cyril* as *a deliverance of the Church from a turbulent enemy of Peace. But God only knows*, says our Author: Yes sure there are men that know it too, though not Mr. *Baxter*: They that are a little more vers'd in the writings of the Fathers know very well, that this Epistle is spurious, and that *John* to

§. 5.

Baron. An. 44016.

to whom it was directed was dead four years before, which *Theodoret* could not but know. And it is very well known that the *Neſtorians* forg'd ſeveral Letters in the name of *Theodoret*. In ſhort, nothing can be a plainer confutation of this Fiction than *Theodorets* own Letter to *Dioſcorus*, the ſucceſſor of *Cyril*; where beſides that he does ſhew *John* to be dead ſeven years before the time of the writing of that Letter, he does alſo make it appear that there was a full and ſincere reconciliation between him and *Cyril* before his death: That *Cyril* when he had written his Books againſt *Julian* the Apoſtate, and another about the Scape-Goat, before he publiſh'd them, ſent them to *John* Biſhop of *Antioch*, to communicate them with the greateſt Scholars of the Eaſt, *He ſent them to me*, ſays *Theodoret*, and *I read them*, and *ſent him an account of them*, and *I received Letters from him after that, which I have ſtill by me*: And the ſame man in another Letter gives an account of this to *Dioſcorus*, that he had ſent to him to acquaint him that he perſevered ſtill in that league that had been made between *Cyril*, of happy memory, and the Eaſtern Churches. And now let any man judge whether this forg'd Letter that goes under the name of *Theodoret*, be not as great an injury to him as it is to *Cyril*. But with our Author that *weeds Church-Hiſtory*, any fiction or impoſture is authentick that does but contain

Leont. de Sect. Sect. 5.

Theod. Ep. ad Dioſc.

Ad Flavian.

ſome

ſome ſcandalous reflections upon great Biſhops, and this ſeems to be the mark that directs his choice all along.

I have been more particular in the Vindication of this great Biſhop from thoſe calumnies our Author raked out of all the Libels of his Enemies, becauſe all this ſeems to be brought in on purpoſe to leſſen the reputation of the Council of *Epheſus*, that was chiefly directed by the authority of *Cyril*; and that you may not take this for an uncertain conjecture of his deſign he explains himſelf [*But (pardon truth or be deceived ſtill) ignorance and pride, and envy, and faction, and deſire to pleaſe the Court, made* Cyril *and his party by quarrelſome Heretication to kindle that lamentable flame in the world.*] Can any man that has any ingenuity or knowledge of thoſe times affirm this? How could this gratifie the Court, ſince the Emperour was ſo highly offended with the contention, that he ordered *Cyril* to be impriſon'd, and was extreamly diſſatisfy'd with both parties? Or how can that be the effect of *Cyril*'s Envy or Ambition, which he himſelf did endeavour to prevent by all the amicable methods imaginable; as may be ſeen by his Letters to *Neſtorius*? But if the Reader will not blindly engage in all the groundleſs jealouſies and malicious ſuggeſtions of our Author, then he has much ado to forbear calling him Fool; but however he diſmiſſes him with that which is equivalent, *Let him be*

p. 94. ſect. 20.

be deceived ſtill, as if every one that had any more charitable opinion of Biſhops and Councils than he, that ſeems to have read little more than what *Binnius* has of them, lov'd to be deceiv'd; and ſhut his Eyes againſt the greateſt evidence in the World.

Before we enter upon the Council of *Epheſus*, it is fit ſome notice ſhould be taken of our Authors account of *Neſtorius*.

The worſt thing he can ſay of him is, *That he was hot againſt Hereticks*, and *deſired the aſſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate to ſuppreſs them*; *that he went about to pull down the Church of the* Arians, *and they ſet it on fire themſelves*, and then call'd him *Firebrand*, when themſelves were the Incendiaries; he *vex'd the Novatians*, &c. After all we have this Remark; *Thus Turbulent Hereticators muſt have the Sword do the work of the Word.* When our Author lays about him, he never minds where the blow falls, and deals alike to friends and foes: What Hereticators were hotter than the *Presbyterians* in the year 1646? the *Inquiſition* is not more ſevere than their *Ordinance* againſt Hereſies, which they deſir'd ſhould be made Felony, and puniſh'd by death. And of other opinions that were to be puniſh'd by impriſonment, were there not many that are yet in diſpute between the Reformed themſelves? Nay, he that vindicates that *Bloody Ordinance* as the *Independents* call'd it, does complain againſt the

Ordinance againſt Hereſie and Blaſphemy: preſented to the Houſe of Commons.

the Bishops for not being *severe enough in the eradication of Heresies*: I will set down the words because they are something remarkable: *In the Bishops times there were some* Arians *and Blasphemers put to death, according to the Laws which then were, and for ought I know are still in force. But had the Bishops had as much zeal for God and his truth, as they had for their own greatness, they had obtain'd such a law as this is, if not in all the particulars, yet in most of them long ago, and thereby prevented many of those monstrous opinions, which have of late been vented among us, to the great dishonour of God and our Kingdom, and the mischief to Souls; but they were cast out for their lukewarmness, and let others take heed of the like*: How shall the Bishops do to please these men? Sometimes when they are in authority, they are *Hereticators*, and *Persecutors*, and *Instigators* of the Civil Magistrate against men for Conscience sake: Sometimes they are *lukewarm* and *negligent* for not providing Laws severe enough, and for not putting men to death for errours in Religion: If I were worthy to advise our Author I would desire him for the honour of Presbytery, to level his spiteful reflections a little more justly, lest whilest he lets fly with a good will against Bishops, the Brethren of the *Holy Discipline* be not hurt; and lest what he designs against Councils, fall unhappily upon the Reverend Assembly, for which he expresses no small esteem elsewhere,

Vindicati on of the Ordin. against Heresie, p. 23. *Impr. James Cranford.*

Presbyterian Toleration.

Answer to Dr. *Stillingfl.*

where, although Bishops and their Councils are so abominable in his sight. But enough of this, for our purpose: I will leave our Author to the judgement of his Brethren, and only crave the Readers Pardon for this digression.

§. 9. We are now come to the Council of *Ephesus*, which was occasion'd by *Nestorius* his denying the Blessed Virgin to be the Mother of that person that was God: this doctrine was broach'd by his favourite, Priest *Anastasius*; though *Nestorius* being the more eminent person carry'd away the name and reputation of it: Our Author says, This set all the City in a division, disputing of they well knew not what: *Nestorius* was suspected by some to deny the Godhead of Christ, *but he was of no such opinion*,] It is true, he did not *directly* deny the Godhead of Christ but *consequentially* he did, as we shall shew hereafter.

p. 89. sect. 9. The Emperour weary of this stir, calls a Council; and yet our Author forgets himself not many pages after, where he will have his Reader believe that *Cyril* made all this stir to please the Court.

The truth of it is, the obstinacy of *Nestorius* oblig'd the Emperour to assemble this Council; for *Cyril* had try'd all the moderate ways in the world to reclaim him before this was thought of. Nothing can Ep. ad Nest. be more modest than *Cyril*'s Letter to *Nestorius*, though he had receiv'd several personal provocations from him; and after this

this another written with the ſame Spirit; but *Neſtorius* took all this brotherly admonition for reproach, and endeavour'd to maintain his opinion, and to ſecure himſelf in equivocal and doubtful expreſſions; ſometimes ſeeming to ſpeak the ſame thing with *Cyril*, that Chriſt had *two natures* in *one perſon*, ſometimes conſidering Chriſt as a *double perſon*, and always denying *Mary* to be the *Mother of God* by any means: This was the unhappy Controverſie that divided the world. Several being deceiv'd by the Equivocations of *Neſtorius* took his part at firſt, but finding him obſtinate in denying the Virgin to be the Mother of that perſon that was God, they at laſt deſerted him, and joyn'd with *Cyril* in his condemnation. *Secunda Ep. ad Neſt.*

It had been happy for the Church if the myſteries of our Religion had never been curiouſly diſputed. But when buſie, troubleſome men have ſtarted a new dangerous doctrine, and endeavour to propagate it with all induſtry imaginable, it is not fit that the Governours ſhould ſit as unconcern'd Spectators, but that they ſhould oppoſe vigorouſly all ſuch remedies as God has put into their hands: *i. e.* adviſe, admoniſh, rebuke; and if theſe means prove ineffectual to ſtop the courſe of evil doctrine, they muſt proceed according to the Apoſtles advice, *a Heretick after admonition reject.* This method therefore of proceeding againſt Hereſies and the Authors of them

cannot be diſallowed by any reaſonable man. But this caſe of *Neſtorius* it ſeems yields a further debate; and the merit of the cauſe is yet diſputed. *Dodon* makes *Neſtorius* Orthodox, and *Cyril* the Heretick: our Author believes both Orthodox, but that they did not underſtand one another; and *ſo by words that themſelves did not underſtand, they ſet all the world on fire.* As for *Dodon*, he manifeſtly condemns *Neſtorius* in a little Treatiſe *De Suppoſito*, printed with ſeveral other Philoſophical Tracts of his; and approves *Cyril*: the truth is, he has a ſingular notion of a perſon there which ſeems to approach *Neſtorianiſm*, which he endeavours to confirm by the authority of *Cyril* and other Fathers: but this which our Author cites, I have not yet ſeen, nor can I find that it has been yet publiſh'd; however ſince the minutes of his arguments are ſet down by our Author, I will endeavour to ſhew the miſtake of that learned man, by giving the true ſtate of the queſtion between *Cyril* and *Neſtorius*.

Neſtorius did firſt recede from the allow'd expreſſions of the Fathers, who did all occaſionally call the Bleſſed Virgin the Mother of God; and therefore was juſtly ſuſpected to recede from their doctrine: *Cyril* admoniſhes him of this dangerous innovation, and explains himſelf concerning the Incarnation of the ſon of God; *Neſtorius* endeavours to confute it; and now let us ſee what

what it was that they both maintain'd. I will begin with the Doctrine of *Cyril*, Σάρκα ἑνώσας ὁ λόγος ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν the word united the flesh to himself hypostatically or personally: and a little after, διάφορα φύσεις εἰς ἑνότητα τὴν ἀληθινὴν συναχθεῖσαι, ἓς δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων Χριστὸς καὶ υἱὸς· οὐχ ὡς τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, ἀπολελεσασῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν τὸν ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος διὰ τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ ἀπορρήτου πρὸς ἑνότητα συνδρομῆς: *i. e.* distinct natures concurring to make a real Unity; of both which consists one Christ and one Son: not that the difference of the natures are taken away by that Unity, but that the divinity and humanity combin'd by an unspeakable manner of Union, make one Christ, and one Son. And then ἑνώσας ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, uniting the manhood hypostatically to himself: and as to the order of this Union he explains himself farther, ὁ γὰρ πρῶτον ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη κοινὸς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἐπεφοίτησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὃς αὐτῆς μήτρας ἑνωθεὶς ὑπομεῖναι λέγεται γέννησιν σαρκικήν: *i. e.* He was not first a meer man that was born of the Holy Virgin; which the Divinity afterwards did assume; but the *Word* being united to the *Man* from the very Womb, is said to have undergone a carnal generation. And that this Union does not destroy the difference of natures in Christ, he shews expressly in that same place, ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γυναικὸς

Ep. 2. ad Nestor.

Ibid.

Ibid.

οὐκ ἀποβεβληκὼς τὸ εἶναι θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν σαρκὶ μεμενηκὼς ὅπερ ἦν: He became man, but did not therefore ceaſe to be God, but after the aſſumption of Fleſh, remain'd ſtill the ſame that he was before. And to the ſame purpoſe in another place, *Ep. ad Euleg.* *after the aſſumption of Fleſh he remain'd very God, and ſuffer'd death upon the Croſs*, i. e. *the Fleſh only, and not the divine nature*; but *l. 2. contra Neſtor.* nothing can be plainer than this [*That there is a vaſt difference or diſtance between the divinity and humanity of Chriſt, I muſt needs confeſs, for they are different things that are ſignify'd by theſe two names, as to what regards their eſſence, and have nothing the one like the other, and* τῆς ἑνώσεως λόγος, *the Union does admit a difference, but excludes all di-* *Ep. ad Neſt.* *viſion*;] and laſtly he ſhews the abſurdity of rejecting this *Hypoſtatical Union* as *incomprehenſible*; becauſe it will unavoidably force us to allow two Sons; the Son of Man: Ἰδικῶς, by himſelf: and the Son of God again by himſelf, Ἰδικῶς ἢ πάλιν, which he plainly confutes. If this does not ſufficiently declare two natures ſubſiſting in one perſon, it is not in the power of words to do it.

Thus was he underſtood by all the world, excepting only the Eaſtern Biſhops, who had a quarrel againſt him, and therefore were reſolv'd to cavil; and even theſe at laſt were reconcil'd to his expreſſions. Thus the Fathers in the Council of *Chalcedon* underſtood him, and the Catholick Church ever

ever ſince, yet all this it ſeems could not prevail with *Derodon*, who in oppoſition to almoſt all the world, maintains his Paradox, that *Cyril* taught the ſame doctrine with *Eutyches*; and that *Neſtorius* was in the right.

For this purpoſe he cites out of *Cyril* ſeveral paſſages that affirm Chriſt to have but one *nature*; and this is that which was condemn'd in *Eutyches*. It is true indeed that *Cyril* does frequently own but one nature, but it is to be obſerv'd that φύσις in his ſenſe is the ſame with ὑπόστασις; and by both he means nothing but a real Union, in oppoſition to an imaginary, notional one, which *Neſtorius* did maintain. This may be eaſily obſerv'd by comparing all thoſe places where he affirms but *one nature*, with thoſe already alledg'd, that expreſly affirm the contrary. But beſides this, if he ſhall be allow'd to explain himſelf, the matter will be ſoon decided, ἕνωσις φυσικὴ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθὴς: Natural, that is, a real Union. When *Acacius* preſſes him with the Confeſſions of the Orthodox, that own *two natures* in Chriſt, and that thoſe Divines do expreſs this difference, becauſe there really is one between the Natures: *Cyril* anſwers, that he does by no means take away theſe terms of diſtinction, but condemns the wrong application of them, ſo as that one ſhould be apply'd to the word κατὰ μόνας, and the other to the Son of the Virgin κατὰ μόνας, that is, ſo as to divide the

Confir. Anath. 3.

Ep. ad Acacium.

person, and to make the Son of the Virgin different from the Son of God; therefore, says he, there is μία φύσις λόγε, one nature of the word; but of the word incarnate, *i. e.* one hypostasis. For so he explains himself in the conclusion of that answer, that those Orthodox that mention two natures, and he, are all of the same opinion; *for since there is but one Son, one God, and Lord; so it is that we and they do confess one person only*; for that was his design by the expression of *one nature*: and that those things that belong to the Divinity, and those which belong to the Humanity must be all ascrib'd to one Christ: and justifying himself against such as suspected him of confounding the two natures in Christ, he denies that ever he took away φωνῶν διαφορὰς, ἀλλὰ οἶδα τὸν κύριον θεοπρεπῶς τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως διαλεγόμενον, ἐπείπερ ὃς ἦν ἐν ταυτῷ θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. And *John* Bishop of *Antioch* willing to express the same thing: ἐδίδαξεν ὁμολογεῖν ἥβ φύσεων τὸ διάφορον καὶ διαιρεῖν τὰς φωνὰς καταλλήλως ταῖς φύσεσιν; which though he disowns to be his own words, but that *John* express'd himself after that manner, yet he receives the sense of them; that several things are to be understood of Christ as Man, and others of him as God; yet that the Godhead and the Manhood make but one Christ.

Ibid.

In what sense *Cyril* affirm'd one nature, appears further from what he condemn'd

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in *Nestorius* and others: ἑνῶσθαι γε μὲν σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες τὸν λόγον ἕνα προσκυνοῦμεν υἱὸν, οὔτε ἄνα μέρος τιθέντες καὶ διορίζοντες ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεὸν, οὔτε συνημμένους μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις τῇ τῆς ἀξίας καὶ αὐθεντίας ἑνώτητι, *not dividing and separating God from man, as part from part; nor yet joyning them together by an Unity only of honour and authority*; this was it that he charg'd *Nestorius* with, and from which he never did so much as endeavour to vindicate himself: Whereupon *Cyril* urges, that *unity* of *dignity* or *honour* does not imply *personal* union; and parity of *authority* does not unite *nature*; for *Peter* and *John* may be of the same authority and dignity, and yet they are not one but two persons: besides this, he rejects another way of Union, κατὰ μέθεξιν χρετικὴν, by *a participation of divine graces*, as holy men are said to be united to God; upon which account he does reject frequently this expression that Christ is ἄνθρωπος θεοφόρος; and he no less rejects the way of artificial conjunction, κατὰ παράθεσιν, ἢ συνάφειαν, as being very improper to express this hypostatical union of Christ: But that which he thinks comes nearest to illustrate this Union, is that conjunction of body and soul in man, which is a concourse of two very different natures, which yet make but one man; this is one of the greatest arguments to prove him a Heretick: but if this will serve to do it, most of the Fathers that wrote upon this subject, must be Hereticks

Cyr. Ep. cum 12. Anath.

as well as he; since they all make use of this illustration. Yet though he were singular in this instance, it would by no means conclude him in the Heresie of *Eutyches*; for those things that are brought to illustrate, are not necessarily required to be like the things they are to illustrate in every point. What *Cyril* concludes is only this, that as the Body and Soul make one Man, so God and Man makes one Christ; and this is the composition that he means: which will be easily understood by comparing this with other passages of *Cyril*. If he judg'd that Christ had but one only nature resulting out of that Composition, like that of Man; then it must be either the divine nature which had taken the humane into it self, or that the divinity should be chang'd into his humanity, or some third nature that must result from both, all which he equally abhorrs; for notwithstanding the incarnation, he affirms expresly, μένει ὅπερ ἦν; of the humanity he affirms it still remains, because there is no συμμὸς, no μεταποίησις; no *mixture*, no *changing* of it into another nature. 3. In the Composition of man there is one form joyn'd to matter, which makes the unity of nature, but in the hypostatical union the man retains his proper form according to *Cyril*; who denys that the word informs the body of the man, but that it is *Corpus animatum*, a body endu'd with reason and understanding. So that it appears plainly by

Ep. ad Nest. ad Acac. ad Joh. 12. Anathim. ad Success.

by the doctrine of *Cyril*, that he did acknowledge two natures in one perſon, and that when he oftentimes affirm'd one nature in Chriſt, he meant only one perſon; which he would not have divided and ſeparated from it ſelf, κατὰ μόνας, or κατὰ μέρος: and the reaſon of uſing the phraſe of one nature, as well as of one hypoſtaſis or perſon, will appear further by conſidering the errour of *Neſtorius*, againſt which he oppos'd thoſe expreſſions. This Heretick began to diſcover himſelf, by not only ſcrupling, but condemning the Title which the Bleſſed Virgin bore commonly in that age, of being Θεοτόκος, the Mother of God; by condemning this expreſſion, *Neſtorius* in effect condemn'd all the Fathers who had us'd it; and this gave a general alarm, as if the faith of the Fathers, *Athan. Gregory*, &c. was going to be condemn'd in this Word: and there was very great reaſon for this jealouſie. *John* Biſhop of *Antioch*, a particular friend of *Neſtorius*, was ſcandaliz'd at this innovation, and ſends a Letter to him to expoſtulate about this matter; and preſſes him very hard with this argument: *If you underſtand and believe the ſame thing with the Holy Fathers that have gone before us (for this I underſtand by ſeveral common friends that you do) why are you afraid to expreſs an orthodox meaning by a convenient phraſe? Eſpecially ſince ſo great miſchief and confuſion is like to enſue upon your refuſal*: But how he explain'd himſelf we ſhall ſee preſently.

The Opinion of *Neſtorius*.

Joh. Ep. ad Neſt.

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Ep. ad Cyr. In his Epistle to *Cyril* he expresses himself one would think very Orthodoxly, μία φύσις ἓν πρόσωπον· but if we examine what he means by φύσις and πρόσωπον, we shall find that he really maintain'd two persons as well as two natures. πρόσωπον is us'd not only for a person, or an intelligent subsistence, but likewise as *Persona* in Latine, with relation to *office*, *dignity*, *authority*, and other circumstances of a man: so 'tis used in those phrases, πρόσωπον εἰσάγειν, πρόσωπον ὑπολαμβάνειν; and προσωποληψία; this was the most common signification of the word; and therefore *Cyril* does not use it so frequently as ὑπόστασις or φύσις, which he thought more proper to express the personal union of Christ: and *Nestorius* does industriously avoid ὑπόστασις. Now let us see wherein he made the unity of person to

Cyr. Cont. Nest. p. 43. Ed. Par. consist: εἴπερ τὸν ἀναλαβόντα ὅτι θεὸς, πρόδηλος τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ὅτι δέλτε μορφὴ, μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τῆς συναφείας ἀξίωμα, ὅτι μία δύο ἡ αὐθεντία κοινὴ, ὅτι μία δύο ταυτὸν τὸ ἀξίωμα, μία φύσεων μενουσῶν ὁμολόγει τὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἑνότητα: i. e. *It was God that took upon him the form of a servant, it was this which was assumed: after that there is the dignity of the conjunction;* (though συνάφεια does not signifie such a near conjunction as that personal one, but only an artificial joyning, so as that the things do still remain under different subsistences) *the authority is common to both natures; for the same dignity belongs to both, confess the unity* (ἀξίας) *of personal dignity*

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not ſubſiſtence, *the natures or ſubſiſtences remaining ſtill different*; and then, there is no *dividing* of the *conjunction of dignity and filiation*; and then, *the ſon is twofold, not in reſpect of dignity, but of nature*. And the errour which he charges *Cyril* with, is, as if all theſe things that are ſaid of Chriſt as God and as Man, were underſtood by him ὐ κατὰ τὼ ἀπὸ τῆς συναφείας ἀξίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, *not according to the Honour of the conjunction, but according to nature, or naturally*: than which nothing can be plainer. *Cyril*'s anſwer does plainly ſhew what he meant by κατὰ φύσιν, and what *Neſtorius*, by his ἀξία ἀπὸ τῆς συναφείας: *Why therefore* (ſays he) *doſt thou pretend to maintain the true faith, when thou doſt manifeſtly divide Chriſt into two perſons*, δυὸ πρόσωπα καὶ ὑποστάσεις, *and doſt deſtroy the manner of that true and real union*, ἀληθοῦς ἑνώσεως, which is with him the ſame thing as κατὰ φύσιν, whereby Chriſt is ἀληθῶς ἕις, really one. *But thou on the other ſide makeſt that equality of honour to be Unity, which is not a real, ſubſtantial, but an imaginary Unity*: So that *Neſtorius* does evidently hold two natural perſons (for ſo I muſt ſpeak) ſtill diſtinct in Chriſt, joyn'd together not *hypoſtatically*, but into *one title*, or *dignity*, which *Cyril* explains ſometimes very properly by the word προσωπεῖον.

Ibid.

p. 33.

Vid. Zanch. de Incarnat. Verbi.

This being premis'd concerning *Neſtorius* his holding two natnres in one perſon, we ſhall ſee more clearly how all his expreſſions do point at this notion,

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Cyr. cont. Nest. p. 21. we have now obſerv'd, ὅν γὰρ δύο γεννήσεις, ἕνων καὶ δύο υἱοὶ, ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία ἕνα οἶδεν υἱὸν, *Where there are two generations, there are two Sons, but the Church knows but one Son*, therefore the word cannot be ſaid to be born with the fleſh as one perſon; and ſo conſequently God and Man is not the perſon that was born of the Virgin; and Chriſt was a perſon diſtinct from the word: nor does he hold this conſequentially only but in expreſs terms, *therefore*, ſays he, *Chriſt is ſaid to be the Word, becauſe he* i. e. Chriſt *is joyn'd for ever to the Word.* What, is not Chriſt the name of the perſon? and if there be not two, what can this conjunction of Chriſt with the word ſignifie? and therefore *Cyril* makes this advantage of it, ὡς πρὸς ἕτερόν τι δηλονότι. The ſame thing is obſervable from *Neſtorius* dividing his Worſhip in reſpect of God and Man; the firſt he worſhips upon his own account, the latter ὡς τῆς θείας συνήθειαν αὐθεντίας: which *Cyril* takes to imply another perſon. There are many more inſtances to the ſame effect, cited and confuted by *Cyril* in the ſame Book.

p. 47. *p. 52.* *p. 74, 84, 90, 100, 108, 126. Ed. Par.*

When *Cyril* and the Eaſtern Biſhops were agreed, the Neſtorians cavil'd as if *Cyril* had receiv'd thoſe that maintain'd the ſame doctrine with *Neſtorius*, and as if *John* and the reſt had condemn'd thoſe that held the ſame faith with them; but *Cyril* makes it ſufficiently appear what difference there was between them and *Neſtorius*: *For he deſtroys the myſtery of the incarnation, denying*

Ep. ad Acac.

ing that the Son of God was born of the Virgin, for these are *Nestorius* his own words, *I have read*, says he, *in Scripture that God proceeded or pass'd through the Virgin*: παρῆλθε: *but he read no where that he was born of her*; and in the same place, *Therefore Christ is call'd the Word of God, because he is joyn'd for ever to the word.* Christ then in his sense is not the *word*, but belongs to it; which manifestly makes two persons: and a while after, *I separate the natures, but I joyn the adoration*; *and that upon the account of that equality of honour and authority which the man had by his conjunction with God*, not into one *natural person* and properly so call'd, but into an *union of title and dignity*. With respect to which opinion *Cyril* presses the unity of nature, and makes use of φύσις and *hypostasis* indiscriminately: And lastly, *Nestorius* denys Christ to be truly and properly God, in his first *Anathema* in answer to those of *Cyril*, saying, *Si quis Christum verum deum & non Immanuel dixerit*, i. e. Whosoever shall call him True God, let him be *Anathema*, which shews that the Union he meant was not personal, but that Christ was no more than what *Cyril* often charges *Nestorius* with holding, ἄνθρωπος θεοφόρος: If those twelve Articles of *Nestorius* were extant in *Greek*, they would likely discover more of his mind, but as they are, they have hardly any sense at all.

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ſon and two natures, may be judg'd from what is already obſerv'd concerning him: but our Author falls into a great paſſion againſt thoſe that ſay *Neſtorius* diſſembled when he affirm'd two natures and one perſon; *I take them*, ſays he, *to be the Fire-brands of the World, and unworthy the regard of ſober men, who pretend to know mens judgements better than themſelves*, &c. It cannot be unknown to any man that has read any thing in Eccleſiaſtical writings, that Hereticks were us'd to take refuge in Equivocation; and to ſhew a fair plauſible doctrine to the firſt view, but when this was narrowly examin'd and compar'd with other things that dropp'd from them, either unawares or in greater confidence, it was found to be nothing but deceit and illuſion. Thus the *Arians* frequently impos'd upon the Orthodox; thus the *Neſtorians* ſeem'd to own the word Θεοτόκος, changing only the accent, which chang'd the ſignification of the Word from the Mother to the Child and off-ſpring of God; and S. *Paul*, who was not unacquainted with the arts of Hereticks, gives this caution againſt them, that they are not preſently to be taken for what they appear, *Now I beſeech you Brethren, mark them which cauſe diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learn'd, and avoid them; for ſuch ſerve not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt but their own belly, and by good words and fair ſpeeches deceive the hearts of the ſimple*: But let them be accounted *Fire-*

Rom. 16. 17, 18.

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brands of the World that will not put the moſt charitable interpretation upon the expreſſions of men of ſuſpected doctrines: I am content, and I believe the Biſhops will not be ſo much concern'd in this accuſation; I could wiſh our Author would look home, and obſerve thoſe *Fire-brands* that will make men of what Religion they pleaſe, in deſpite of all Proteſtations and Oaths to the contrary: Is it not ſtrange that men who ſubſcribe the *Articles of the Church of England*, ſo deſtructive of all the errours of Popery, which were the occaſion of the Reformation; that renounce *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Popes Supremacy*, *Idolatry*, *Rebellion for the cauſe of Religion*, *Adoration of Images and Saints and Angels*; that notwithſtanding all this, theſe men muſt be *Papiſts* and *Popiſhly affected*, and let them ſay or believe what they will, they muſt be accounted ſo: What ſhall a man do to theſe men? who inſtead of pulling down *Popery* ſtrengthen it, by reckoning ſo many learned and godly perſons of that ſide? and whileſt they endeavour to diſhonour theſe perſons by ſo odious a name, do no ſmall honour to the Papiſts by making the moſt eminent party of men both for learning and integrity that perhaps is now in the World, to be favourers of their way: *hoc Ithacus velit*: The *Jeſuites* indeed are apt to feign ſeveral deathbed Reconciliations to their Church, to gain it credit by the acceſſion of ſome eminent oppoſers of it, but this they do ſparingly,

as

as the eaſie people can ſwallow the cheat; But theſe *Papiſt-makers* of ours will preſent them with thouſands together, and ſend them the Proteſtant Churches of three Kingdoms in one preſent. If any be *Fire-brands of the World*, if any ſet up Popery under the diſguiſe of Proteſtants, they are ſurely theſe men that cry down all for Papiſts that they have any prejudice againſt; and out of ſpight to their brethren aſſiſt that common enemy, and become the moſt liberal Benefactors to the Church of *Rome* that ever it had ſince the Reformation; nay, not inferiour to the forgers of *Conſtantine*'s *Donation*. Theſe men would deſerve better of *Rome* than *Francis* or *Dominick*, could they but make their words good. Surely the Papiſts are not now to learn how to make the beſt uſe of a fictitious title, they will not fail to boaſt of that ſtrength which diſſenters give them; and have no reaſon to diſcover the falſhood of a calumny that is ſo much to their credit and advantage! I muſt beſeech the Readers Pardon for this digreſſion, and Gods Pardon to theſe falſe accuſers of their brethren, that they may know in this their day the things that belong to their peace. To return now to the buſineſs we left.

It will not ſuit the proportion of my deſign to dwell upon every particular expreſſion of *Cyril*'s that may be ſuſpected, and to detect the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* lurking under the diſguiſe of Orthodox Expreſſions, I hope that what has been already

dy obſerv'd, may be ſufficient at leaſt to ſuſpend the Readers judgement from pronouncing *Cyril* a Heretick with *Derodon*, or *Neſtorius* (who was condemn'd by almoſt all the world) an Orthodox and ſound believer; until ſome abler hand undertake that matter, and treat it more particularly.

Our Author though he make uſe of *Derodon*'s citations to diſparage the authority of theſe Councils, yet he differs from him in concluſion, and is loth to give in to that bold Paradox, that *Cyril* ſo much celebrated in the Catholick Church for his defence of the faith, ſhould at laſt, after twelve hundred years good credit prove down-right Heretick. Therefore he endeavours to moderate the buſineſs, and to make both parties Friends and Orthodox, though they themſelves were not ſenſible of it! *All this ſtir*, ſaith our Author, *proceeded only from miſunderſtanding*, *and* Cyril *and* Neſtorius *and the reſt of the Biſhops did not underſtand one anothers meaning:* It is not unpleaſant to obſerve a man unacquainted with the language in which theſe diſputes were, pretend gravely to be Moderator, and to perſwade the World they did not underſtand the terms they quarrelled about, though the language were vulgar to them all; and by the ſtrength of *Hanmer*'s, and other miſerable tranſlations, to play the Critick: but whether is moſt likely that theſe great and learned men ſhould underſtand

ſtand one anothers terms; or perſons remov'd from their times many hundreds of years, and ignorant of the language in which they writ, I leave the Reader to determine. It is true, that in this caſe there was great miſunderſtanding between *Cyril* and the Eaſtern Biſhops; yet we find that as ſoon as ever they came to debate the matter calmly, they found they differ'd but in expreſſion, and yet both found they differ'd widely from the doctrine of *Neſtorius*.

But though ſome few men might be tranſported, and miſtake one another in the heat of their contention, it is ſtrange that all the world ſhould be ſo blind and undiſcerning, that no man before our Author ſhould find out this undiſcover'd agreement between the contending Biſhops, and not one have the fortune to ſtumble upon this obſervation. Mr. *B.* does endeavour to ſatisfie this doubt, by ſhewing that *beſides the factiouſneſs of the generality of* p. 92. *the Biſhops, there were but few among them that had any learning*; and this he offers to make out by ſeveral arguments: 1. *That the Fourth Council of* Carthage *did forbid Biſhops to read any Heathen Authors.* But how ſhould this Prohibition make ignorant Biſhops in the Eaſt, where it had no force? Nor do we find any ſuch prohibition there, unleſs that of *Julian* the *Apoſtate* to bring Chriſtian Religion into contempt, by making the profeſſors of it ignorant of all humane learning. 2. *When no Biſhop was to be remov'd*

Mr. *B.* miſtakes it for the 6th.

mov'd from place to place, but they were made in every Church out of an inferiour degree; why ſhould this keep them in ignorance, ſince they had the freedom of liberal education; and the lower degrees of the Church did no more incapacitate men for learning than they did for Epiſcopacy? 3. *Univerſities were rare, therefore no wonder if learned Biſhops were ſo rare:* If Univerſity education be ſo neceſſary for learning; our Author I believe muſt keep theſe ignorant Biſhops company, and he will help them to more, if others heed what he writes of the Univerſities. But yet Philoſophy Schools were not ſo rare as he fanſies in the Eaſtern Church, for there was hardly a conſiderable City that had not one; and beſides all this, the great learning of the world being eaſily intelligible to the Eaſtern part of the World, as being written in their common language; they had the leſs need of Profeſſors; and a man might go a great way with his own private Reading. 4. *When Nectarius muſt be the great Patriarch that was no Chriſtian, and when Syneſius, becauſe he had Philoſophical knowledge, is choſen Biſhop even before he believ'd the Reſurrection*! Learned men were very ſcarce, he would inferr; but it is hard to do ſo from theſe inſtances: for 1. I do not find any where that *Nectarius* was made Patriarch for his learning: *Socrates* indeed ſays *he was noble by deſcent*, and a *Prator by office*, that *he was of a ſweet obliging* *Socr. l. 5. c. 8.*

temper, and an extraordinary, and admirable person, which rendred him very popular; and the Multitude in a fit of kindness would force him to be their Bishop. There is not a word of this learning, or of the scarcity of learned men, that might justifie this extraordinary and irregular election of a *Catechumen* into the second Bishoprick of the World: and if any one should yet fansy that to be the reason, let him consult *Sozomen*; who gives a more particular account of this action, and different from *Socrates*: He is so far from thinking that there was no Christian of learning and abilities equal to that dignity, that he tells us there was great variety: and that several Bishops of the Council that then sate, propos'd many as fit for that Charge: *Diodorus Tarsensis* happen'd to be strangely taken with *Nectarius* his Countrey man; and the circumstances, if true, make it look something like a miracle: He propos'd him to the Bishop of *Antioch* as a fit person for that high charge; the Bishop wonder'd at the fancy; and to comply with *Theodorus* puts his name among several others that he offer'd to the Emperour, but in the last place, little expecting he should be return'd Bishop.

Ἀπαδεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προεβλήθη.

l. 7. c. 8.

The Emperour by an unaccountable impulse pass'd all by till he came to his name, and fix'd there, and nominated him Bishop: *He was no Christian*, says our Author. He was not yet baptiz'd indeed, but he was a Cate-

Catechumen and a very good man, and wanted nothing but that conſummation; which was *Conſtantine*'s condition till within a month before his death: and now let the ſhrewdeſt gueſſer in the world conſider whether the ſmall number of learned Biſhops was the reaſon why *Nectarius* was choſen to be the great Patriarch.

Syneſius his promotion concludes the ignorance of Biſhops no more than that of *Nectarius*. For *Syneſius*, beſides his learning, had a peculiar eloquence, and beſides that, was a perſon of an extraordinary life and reputation; ſo that it was not his Philoſophical learning was the only reaſon of his preferment: but *he did not believe the Reſurrection*; and ſurely there muſt be a great want of able men, when a perſon under that, and ſeveral other unqualifying circumſtances ſhould be forc'd into a Biſhoprick. But *Theophilus* underſtood the meaning of it, that this was but a fiction to avoid being Biſhop: for his Letter to his Brother was not deſign'd as a ſecret, but as he ſuggeſts there, that it might be ſhew'd, and become a remedy againſt that fondneſs the people had of him; and in another to the Presbyters of *Ptolemais* after he was made Biſhop, he does acknowledge that he had us'd all the arts and ſtratagems that he could deviſe to eſcape it: *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* did take him at his word, and repreſented him to poſterity as he had characterized himſelf: and excuſe thoſe that

Syn. Ep. 105.

Ep. 11.

Vid. Bar. An. 410. *Luc. Holſt. diſſert. de fug. Ep.*

ordain'd him by saying, that they had hopes that afterward he would believe more Orthodoxly, and correct those errours he confess'd: It was not then for want of able men that he was made Bishop, but it was the extraordinary affection of *Theophilus*, and the people of *Ptolemais*, and the great reputation he had in the world, having been sent long before by the City of *Cyrene* to *Arcadius*, and deliver'd that noble Oration *de Regno*, that alone were enough to make all ingenious men in love with him for his eloquence and his gravity, and to render him eminent in the most learned age of the World, though Mr. *B.* in the second Part of his Church-History, part 1. p. 169. affirms, That *there are divers poor men, Weavers, Plowmen and others of the Church of* Kederminster, *that can Pray, and Teach, and Write as methodical, pious, weighty tractates as* Synesius, *notwithstanding he was a Philosopher, and as well as any* Eusebius *extoll'd as famous Bishops of the second and third age, &c. not to say, of* Clemens, Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian; *yea even as Holy* Macarius, Ephrem Syrus, Synesius, Isidore, Pelus: By this you may judge how well our Author is acquainted with those Ecclesiastical Writers.

The last thing by which he proves the scarcity of learned Bishops, is the ignorance of *Nestorius*, which *Socrates* that knew him does affirm: But here our Author does *Socrates* wrong, for he does not say

ſay that *Neſtorius* was ignorant, but that he was unacquainted with the Fathers and Eccleſiaſtical writers, which made him condemn the word Θεοτόκος, which was us'd by *Athanaſius* and ſeveral others: and that he did not vouchſafe to read the Ancients. As for Philoſophy, perhaps he had too much, and his writings do ſhew that he had no confus'd illogical Pen: So that this proves the ignorance of the Biſhops of thoſe times no more than the reſt. l. 7. c. 32.

The truth is, our Author has the worſt luck in the world in his obſervations, where he ventures to dictate out of his own head, and to ſpeak ſomething new: He could not have likely pitch'd upon ſuch another age in all the Hiſtory of the Church as this, for multitude of eminent and learned Biſhops, and I believe I may ſay there is none that has recommended it ſelf to Poſterity by ſo numerous and ſubſtantial Monuments of learning. What ſhall we think of *Hierom*, *Ruffinus*, *Auguſtin*, the two *Cyrils*, *Theodoret*? what ſhall we ſay of *Syneſius*, *Iſidore*, *Pelus*, and infinite others? were theſe ignorant times that yielded ſuch eminent lights, ſuch renown'd Champions and Ornaments to the Church of Chriſt? One may ſay with great truth that it was not till now that learning was become general among Chriſtians, and eſpecially in the Eaſt.

Yet *alas* (ſays our Author) *how few Biſhops could diſtinguiſh then, as* Derodon, *and our common Metaphyſicks do now, be-*

tween Individuum, prima ſubſtantia, natura, ſuppoſitum, perſona, *and diſtinguiſh between a right eſſence*, and *hypoſtaſis or ſubſiſtence*, &c. and *have defin'd all theſe? Nature, ſays* Derodon, *is taken in nine ſenſes, but the ſenſe was not here agreed on before they diſputed of the matter.* Alas indeed! this was a wonderful ignorance. They ſimple men did not underſtand the art of ſplitting a good ſix-pence into two bad groats; or of evaporating all good ſubſtantial ſenſe by multiplying impertinent diſtinctions: but for my part I value them not a farthing the leſs, for not knowing nine ſorts of natures, any more than for not knowing the four ſorts of Seekers, or our Authors twelve ſpecies of Epiſcopacy.

Ibid. What our Author ſpeaks of the *turbulence* and *factiouſneſs of the Biſhops, that blinded them ſo, as not to diſtinguiſh between the Abſtract and the Concrete, and between the* qui & quà Deus: It is after his wonted candour. It is no wonder if good men are vehement, when they think their faith is going to be overthrown; and if heat and paſſion is in any thing to be excus'd, it is ſurely here, where the concern is ſo very great, and eaſineſs and moderation look like the betraying of the cauſe of God. But there needs no other anſwer to our Author, than the words of our Savi-

Mat. 7. 5. our, *Firſt caſt out the beam out of thine eye, and then ſhalt thou ſee clearly to caſt out the mote out of thy brothers eye.* If the Biſhops were

were turbulent here, it was for the faith; but there are thoſe that have been and ſtill are more turbulent for the circumſtances of Religion. I wiſh our Author would think of it.

There remains yet one conſiderable Objection againſt *Cyril*, which I have reſerv'd on purpoſe to the laſt place that I might anſwer it more at large, and I hope it will give great light unto the ſubject we have in hand. The objection is this, That *Cyril* father'd the doctrine of *Neſtorius* about the Incarnation upon his Maſter, *Theodorus Tarſenſis*, and *Theodorus Mopſueſtenus*. But *Theodore Tarſ. dy'd in the Communion* of the Church, and was own'd by it, not only as a ſound Member, but as an eminent Champion for the truth. I will take notice at this time of this *Theodore* only, whoſe diſciple *Neſtorius* was. *Facundus* takes great pains to vindicate him, and does it very effectually; but as for this charge of *Cyril*, he does not well know what to ſay; ſometimes he is in doubt of the matter of fact, whether *Cyril* did condemn his doctrines, and write againſt him; becauſe in doing ſo, he muſt depart not only from the reſt of the Fathers, but from himſelf too: For in ſome of his writings he is very high in his commendation: *Scripti ſunt à Magno Theodoro* (ſays Cyril. ap. Fac.) *adverſus Arrianorum & Eunomianorum Hæreſes viginti forte & amplius libri, & alia præter hac Evangelica & Apoſtolica Scripta* *l. 8. c. 6. p. 349.*

pta interpretatus est, & hos quidem labores nullus est ausus increpare, sed dextro decreto honorare studium rectorum dogmatum quod in eis est. And therefore he makes it a doubt concerning *Cyril*, *sive scripserit aliquid adversus Theodorum sive non*: But there is no question to be made about the matter of fact; For *Cyril*'s Epistle to *Successus*, where he accuses *Theodore* as the Father of *Nestorianisme*, was never question'd that I know; and another of his to *Acacius Melitenus*, mentions not only his dislike of *Theodore*, but that he had writ against him; because he conceived he had writ against our Saviours incarnation: and yet *Theodore* did expresly maintain two natures in one person: So that *Cyril* in opposing this must either be a Heretick, or he must mistake the meaning of those he wrote against.

Now for the clearing of this matter we must observe, that though *Theodore* was no Heretick, yet there was Heresie among his writings, foisted in by the followers of *Apollinaris*, and this is the very Heresie for which *Cyril* condemns him. I will set down *Theodore*'s own words as they are cited by *Facundus*: *Ante triginta enim hos annos de Incarnatione Domini Codicem conscripsimus usque ad 15. versum pertingentem, in quo Arrii & Eunomii de hâc re delicta, nec non etiam Apolinarii vanam præsumptionem per totum illud opus examinavi, ut nihil, sicut mea fert opinio, præterirem ex his quæ ad firmitatem Ecclesiasticæ Orthodoxiæ pertinerent, &*

Fac. l. 10. c. 1.

& ad convincendam eorum impietatem. Sed hi qui omnia facillime præſumunt, & præterea rurſum ab Apolinario, qui princeps hujus hæreſis fuerat, inſtituti, omnibus quidem ſimiliter ſentientibus, opus noſtrum manifeſtum fecerunt, ſiquo modo aliqua invenirent valentia ad convincendum ea quæ in eo ſunt ſcripta; quoniam verò nullus contra certamen Scriptis ſuſcipere præſumebat, imitati ſunt infirmos Athletas & callidos, qui dum non poſſunt contra fortiores certare, inſidiis eos & machinamentis quibus poſſunt conantur evertere. Scripſerunt enim ipſi, inter ſe proculdubio, quædam inepta quæ à nobis unquam minimè dicerentur; deniq; hæc ipſa in medio Scriptorum noſtrorum in quadam parte interpoſuerunt, & ſuis familiaribus demonſtraverunt, aliquando etiam & noſtris qui per facilitatem ſuam omnia pronis animis audiebant; Et hoc quaſi documentum, ut putabant, noſtræ impietatis videntibus præbebant. Unum autem ex his Scriptis erat, duos filios dicere; ſic enim nos fecerunt in hoc opere dicentes, quod oporteat putare & dicere duos filios, & vehementer nos illum Sermonem defendere, dum nos in illâ Scripturâ manifeſtè ubique diceremus quod non oporteat duos filios dicere: "The "ſumm is, that thoſe Hereticks, that could "not confute his books, reſolv'd to cor- "rupt them, and foiſted ſtrange doctrines "that he abhorr'd, as that we muſt own "*two ſons* in Chriſt; and this cheat was "carry'd on with that Impudence that they "ſhew'd theſe interlopations to ſome of "the Biſhops own Congregation, who were

"were carry'd away with it at firſt, but "were recover'd by the Biſhops reproof, "that they ſhould be ſo fooliſhly credulous "as to give greater credit to theſe wri- "tings than to what they heard him daily "preach in the Church. If then thoſe that were ſo near *Theodore* were impos'd upon by this cheat of the *Arians*, what wonder if *Cyril* ſhould light upon corrupted Copies at that diſtance of time and place, and take that for the doctrine of *Theodore* that was but the Interpolation of thoſe Hereticks?

But this is not all; *Theodore* had ſeveral expreſſions of his own that might be juſtly ſuſpected of implying *Two ſons*: ſo that *Sirmond* in his note upon that paſſage where he diſowns two ſons, remarks, *duos tamen imprudenter ſtatuit*: and he himſelf confeſſes that he was too negligent in his firſt writings. *Non quantum oportuit habuimus circa iſtam rem diligentiam, paſſi enim ſumus quæcunque incipientes ut evenit in imperitiâ ſcribendi conſtituti, ſiquidem & multas immutationes illo tempore quæ noſtra ſunt ſuſceperunt, quas non eſt præſentis temporis enarrare, ex quâ cauſa magis negligenter à nobis compoſita ſunt plurima.*

l. 10.

Sup. Ex.

And to let you ſee that *Theodore*, how Orthodox ſoever his meaning was, us'd ſometime ſuſpected and dangerous expreſſions, the ſame Author cites the Epiſtle of *John* Biſhop of *Antioch* to *Neſtorius*, where he propoſes to him the example of his own Maſter

l. 10. c. 2.

Maſter *Theodore*, who in a publick expoſition, having dropp'd ſome words that gave offence to ſeveral perſons, and among others to *Neſtorius* himſelf, he made no difficulty to retract it. Where we may obſerve by the way, that *John*'s Epiſtle is to be corrected from this paſſage of *Facundus*, and *Theodorus* put inſtead of *Paulus*, that was in all the Copies of that Epiſtle, that had been compar'd before the Edition of that Council; but *L'abbé* re- *L'abbé T. 3. p. 391. part 1. c. 25.*
Theodorus, out of *Segniers* Copy.
Facundus return now to *Facundus*: he urges from this paſſage, that *Neſtorius* never made uſe of the authority of his Maſter for his defence, which he would probably have done, had he not been conſcious to himſelf of having departed from his doctrines.

However *Theodorus* be Orthodox, yet *Cyril* did not find fault with him without reaſon; his expreſſions were harſh, and that was all he objected to him, and *added, that if he were alive and did not explain himſelf more Orthodoxly and more commodiouſly, he deſerv'd to be condemn'd*: In ſhort, he wrote againſt the *Apollinariſts* that confounded the natures in Chriſt, and as it often falls out, while he avoided one extreme he ſeem'd to fall into another: This was *Cyril*'s own caſe, who to aſſert a real Union call'd it *Natural*; and aſſerted one nature, meaning by it but one perſon; but that term he thought not ſufficient, ſince *Neſtorius* *Cyr. Ep. ad Succeſſ.*

rius endeavour'd to ſhelter himſelf under the ambiguity of the term; thus St. *Auſtin* writing againſt the *Manichees* ſeems to be of one mind, and writing againſt the *Pelagians* of another; and although he endeavour here to reconcile his own writings, yet if the ſame things ſeeming ſo contradictory, had been maintain'd in thoſe terms by two ſeveral perſons, it is great odds but they would have fallen out: So hard it is to keep ſteady between two extremes when the ſubject is nice and difficult, and it is not eaſie to find terms that are proper and diſtinctive.

Having given this account of the doctrine of *Cyril* and *Neſtorius*, I will give the Reader a ſhort view of the Proceedings of this Council, which our Author repreſents with his wonted candour and ingenuity. The Emperour in his Writs for the calling of this Council commanded the Biſhops to be at *Epheſus* before *Pentecoſt*: They bore date 15 *cal. Decembr.* and doubtleſs came time enough to the moſt remote parts of the Empire: and they do particularly direct that after *Eaſter* they immediately put themſelves upon their journey, implying that the time between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide* was ſufficient for the remoteſt Biſhops to perform their journey. *Cyril* and *Neſtorius*, and near two hundred Biſhops were there at the time appointed: "*John* "Biſhop of *Antioch* ſtuck by the way, ſome "of his company falling ſick, and ſeveral "of

Sacra Imper. ad Epiſc. Metrop.

Ep. Joh. ad Cyril.

"of their Horſes dying, and ſent notice
"of it to *Cyril* and the Synod. The Bi-
"ſhops that were met, were inclin'd to
"open the Council immediately, in obe-
"dience to the Emperours command: many *Ep. Synod. ad Imp.*
"of them had come from far, ſome of them
"did not enjoy their health in that place,
"and many were poor, and could not en-
"dure the expence of a long ſtay; beſides
"that they were number enough, and it
"was not fit that about two hundred Bi-
"ſhops ſhould ſtay for thirty, and ſtop all
"proceedings to wait their arrival. Theſe
"therefore make their applications to *Cy-*
"*ril*, and preſs him to proceed; he gave
"them good words, and deſir'd them to
"have patience for ſome time, for it would
"not be long e're *John* and the Eaſtern Bi-
"ſhops would come, who were already
"upon their way, and not far from the
"place; he deſerr'd their ſitting there- εἰμὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ θύραις.
"fore for ſixteen days longer, and the Ea-
"ſtern Biſhops ſtill delaying, he was obli-
"ged to comply with the Importunities of
"the Synod; and *John* had ſent two Bi- *Alexander Apam. Alexander Hierap.*
"ſhops before to deſire *Cyril* to go on, and
"not to ſtay for him; upon this, *Cyril*
"thinking all were ſatisfy'd, open'd the
"Synod on the 22 of *June*: *Neſtorius* was
"ſummon'd to give an account of his faith,
"he ſent a ſurly anſwer, that he would
"conſider, and do as he thought fit; the
"next day they ſent others to him, but
"now he had fortify'd himſelf in his houſe,

The 22 of *June* falls exactly at the end of the ſixteen days allow'd by the Synod.

"and

"and got a guard of Souldiers, and treat-
"ed thoſe that were ſent to him rudely
"and unworthily: So that now there was
Ep. Synod. ad Imp. "no other means than to examine his
"doctrine out of his writings, which be-
"ing judg'd by the Council to be dan-
"gerous and deſtructive of the incarna-
"tion and unity of Chriſt, he was con-
"demned. I cannot ſee any thing in all this proceeding that is very blameable; and *John* had no reaſon to find fault, having given them leave to proceed. But he coming to *Epheſus* ſhortly after, and finding fault with the proceedings of *Cyril*, became the occaſion of great confuſions: which yet cannot be with any juſtice charg'd upon the Council; *John* with his proteſting Biſhops countenanc'd the cauſe of *Neſtorius*, and condemn'd *Cyril*, being drawn in by *Candidianus*, who was a favourer of *Neſtorius*: and it is not unlikely that he had ſecret Orders from the Emperour to do *Cyril* all the ill offices that he could, "for the Em-
Act. 1. prope finem. "perour in his Letter to *Cyril* before this
"Council, ſhews that he was not a little
"angry with him. He pretends his wri-
Theodoſ. Cyril. p. 1. c. 31. "ting to him, and the Empreſſes, about
"this queſtion, to have been the cauſe, as
"if he had had a deſign to divide the Court
"as well as the Church, and to ſow diſcord
"in the Royal Family. But whatever were
"the reaſon, it is evident by his proceed-
"ing, that he had a pique againſt *Cyril*;
"who was oppos'd in every thing by the
"Empe-

"Emperours Officers: A little Commit-
"tee of about thirty Biſhops, with *John*
"and *Candidianus* at the head of them, ſet
"up againſt the Council, condemn'd *Cyril*
"and *Memnon*, and gave the Emperour an
"account of what they had done, he ſent
"*Johannes Comes* with Order to depoſe *Cy-*
"*ril*, *Memnon* and *Neſtorius*. This *John*
gives a ſad account of the confuſion all things were in, and of the heats of Biſhops; but is very much to be ſuſpected. For the tenour of his relation makes it evident that he was a partizan of the Eaſtern Biſhops, and therefore endeavours to lay all the blame upon *Cyril* and his party: but ſure I am that the confuſion which he repreſents cannot be much greater than our Author makes in the ſenſe of this *John*; and the Biſhops could not underſtand one another much worſe than our Author did that Epiſtle. *They would have the* Scriptures *read* (ſays our learned Tranſlator) *but they that favour'd* Cyril *ſaid, that the divine and terrible* Scriptures *were not to be read without* Cyril; *the Biſhops that were with* John *ſaid, that* Cyril *ought not to be preſent at the reading of the Scriptures.* One would imagine that this Officer would have read a Chapter of *Job* to recommend patience to theſe violent Biſhops; but it is quite another matter, for theſe *terrible Scriptures* were nothing elſe but the Emperours Letter, which in the language of thoſe times was call'd *Sacra*; and *Sacra Scriptura* in this place, as every

body knows that has any acquaintance with these times, or has but read this Letter; for the secret is discover'd within a few lines, *Augustarum literarum lectionem fecit, in quibus depositi sunt* Cyrillus *&* Nestorius, *&c.* And now it is no wonder if all things were in confusion, and all parties, unless that small one of *John* of *Antioch*, dissatisfy'd; the Orthodox look'd upon the faith as involv'd in the condemnation of *Cyril*, and to suffer in the same proscription with him; and the greatest part of the Christian Church look'd upon it self as engag'd in the same cause: therefore the Emperour considering better of it, whether out of fear that all the world in a manner would oppose this sentence, or being better inform'd concerning *Cyril*, revok'd this decree, but confirm'd the deposition and banishment of *Nestorius*; and considering the party of *John* was but inconsiderable in respect of those that own'd the Council, the Emperour, who probably might have made use of them against *Cyril*, commands them now to be reconcil'd to him, to condemn *Nestorius*, to receive the Council; and *Cyril* was only desir'd to sacrifice his resentments of the injuries received at *Ephesus*, to the peace and settlement of the Church; and so at last *Cyril* and the Council of *Ephesus* prevail'd against all the little arts that were us'd to blast their reputation, and by the means of *Paulus Emissenus* a perfect reconciliation was effected, so sincere, that the old

con-

contentions are chang'd into friendſhip and confidence, and *Cyril* ſends ſome of his books to *John* and *Theodoret* to reviſe and correct. So far were they from thinking him a *Fire-brand* and *incendiary as long as they liv'd*: as our Author repreſents the matter.

But this reconciliation does as little pleaſe Mr. *B.* as their diſſentions: There is no thanks to the Biſhops for this; *the Emperours threatning Letter cur'd them all of Hereſie; and good men! they were all this while of one mind and did not know it*: It is ſome ſign of good nature that they would ſubmit to the powerful interpoſition of the Emperour; but there is a temper, which Mr. *B.* is acquainted with, that is not to be prevail'd upon either by threats or promiſes from the Magiſtrate, and ſeems to hate nothing ſo much as compliance with Superiours: there are ſome that ſcorn to preach by the licence of the Government, and place the Kingdom of Chriſt purely in oppoſition to Laws and Magiſtrates.

CHAP. VI.

Councils about the Eutychian *Hereſie.*

IT is the general weakneſs of our minds not to think we have ſufficiently avoided one extreme, unleſs we run into the other; and to be ſtill running away from what we diſlike, we care not whither, without conſidering what inconveniences the contrary extreme may expoſe us to! This is frequent among us, not only in what relates to our paſſions and manners, but to our faith. *Neſtorius*, for fear of blaſphemy, diſſolv'd the incomprehenſible unity of the ſon, and fell into blaſphemy on the oppoſite ſide, denying Chriſt to be *Deus verus*: *Eutyches*, abhorring this doctrine, thought he was not ſafe till he had deny'd Chriſt to be *verum hominem*: and this became the occaſion of a great deal of ſtir and tumults in the Chriſtian World.

Anath. 1, 2.

Brevic. de Hiſt. Eutyc.

This *Eutyches* (who to our comfort was no Biſhop, but an Abbot,) having pleas'd himſelf ſome time with his notion concerning the perſon of Chriſt, was not content to enjoy it himſelf, but was ambitious to propagate it: He therefore drew up a new Creed

Creed different from those which had been set forth by all the Councils before him, and sent a Copy of this Confession into several Monasteries, to desire Subscriptions. *Act. con. C. P.* This got wind, and *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylæum*, having notice of this practice, advises *Eutyches* as a friend to desist from such dangerous enterprizes, and to acquiesce in the decrees of the Councils of *Nice* and *Ephesus*. *Eutyches* pursues his course, and *Eusebius* reports the whole matter to *Flavian*: who having called a small Convention of Bishops at *C. P.* sends for *Eutyches* thither. He at first refuses to come; but afterwards, being encourag'd by a favourite Eunuch, he comes to the Council as if he had been going to a war, guarded not only with his Monks but with Souldiers, and the Emperours guards, where after some tergiversation he discover'd his Heresie, and the Council having admonish'd him to retract, but without effect, condemn'd him as a Heretick.

Our Author makes *Eutyches* as Orthodox as *Cyril*; and would shew that he was condemn'd for the doctrine of the Council of *Ephesus*. The Truth of this we shall understand by considering the following particulars of his doctrine. He held *Christum verum hominem non fuisse, nec in eo esse duas naturas, sed unam Dei Verbi, incarnatam*; though the last words be the very same with those of *Cyril*; yet the rest are expresly condemn'd by him, for he maintains *Brevic. de Hist. Eutych.* *Ep. 2. ad Nest. & alib.*

upon every occasion, that Christ is truly Man as well as God, and perfect too, as consisting of Body and Soul, nor did he deny two natures in Christ, but only said that they were not separated or divided; that there was no διαλομὴ, but that both were united in one subsistence. He does indeed frequently assert one nature, which in his sense is no more than personal unity; and sometimes too says there is μία φύσις θεοῦ σεσαρκωμένη, unless we shall read it σεσαρκωμένου, which is much more agreeable to *Cyril*'s ordinary way of expressing himself; μίαν ὑὸν φύσιν ὡς ἑνὸς, πλὴν ἐναν θρωπήσαντος καὶ σεσαρκωμένου; and yet *Eustath. Beryt.* cites *Cyril* in the Council of *Chalcedon* according to the first reading. But not to make any difficulty about this, *Flavian* it seems did not stand much upon that expression. For he owns it with this interpretation διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι; so far he own'd one nature as was consistent with one Christ that must be God and Man, but he condemns all those that shall teach that there are two sons, or two hypostases, or two persons, and so dissolves that unity. And yet for all this, he was condemn'd as a *Nestorian*; and although he seems to speak the same words with *Eutyches*, yet he condemns him; but you have already seen some difference, and shall find yet more. He goes on concerning *Eutyches*, saying, *Christum nobis esse Consubstantialem negavit*: which is an express contradiction to the doctrine of *Cyril*,

ad Eulog. l. unic.

ad Acac. Melit.

Conc. Chalc. Act. 1.

Flav. Exempl. fidei Theodos. Dat.

Conc. Chalc. part 1. Ep. 5. ll. Maxentii Cathol. Professio.

Eutych. & Ep. Flav.

Cyril, who all along affirms Christ to be of the same substance with us as to his humanity, as well as of the same substance with the Father in respect of the divine nature: [*Deinde dixit Virginem quidem quæ eum genuit secundum carnem consubstantialem nobis esse, ipsum autem dominum non suscepisse ex eâ carnem nobis consubstantialem; & Corpus domini non esse quidem corpus hominis, humanum verò corpus esse quod est ex Virgine: adjecit autem & aliam impietatem; Corpus domini quod ex Maria factum est non esse nostræ substantiæ, neque humanæ consperſionis.* This is something hard to be understood at first sight; but the *Breviculus Hist. Eutych.* does explain it, speaking of *Eutyches* his opinion concerning Christs flesh, *quam quidem non esse hominis perhibuit sed humanum, ut similitudo magis humani corporis quàm veritas suaderetur.* But to return to that which was more insisted upon for Heresie, his affirming of one nature, which these passages will serve to explain. *Rescript. Flav. ad Leon.* *Ep. ad Leon.*

The great Complaint of *Eusebius Doryl.* to *Flavian*, and of *Flavian* to *Leo*, against *Eutyches* was, that he affirm'd *one nature after the incarnation.* Did not *Cyril* say the same thing? does not *Flavian* himself say that he does not reject it? what then is the Controversie? Surely these men cannot be so mad as to fall out so violently, when they all say not only the same thing but the same words. Shall we imagine that *Flavian* would prevaricate, and accuse *Eutyches* to *Leo* of

that Hereſie, which he owns for ſound doctrine to *Theodoſius*? It is not to be conceiv'd that any one, much leſs ſo great a man as *Flavian*, ſhould be either ſo fooliſh or ſo wicked; and if we conſider the accuſation, we ſhall be able to unriddle this difficulty. For after he had charg'd *Eutyches* with holding but one nature after the Union, he adds for a confutation of that errour: *neque vero unitas convenientium in Chriſto duarum naturarum ſicut unâ re, proprietates ſuas in unitate confudit, ſed manent in unitate perfectæ naturarum proprietates*; the one nature of Chriſt according to *Eutyches* did (it ſeems) take away, and confound the properties of humanity; but according to *Flavian* they ſtill remain'd; for how elſe could Chriſt ſuffer, and the divine nature not have ſuffer'd too? The *Monothelites* ſpoke out what *Eutyches* diſguis'd, whoſe principle extended to much abſurder conſequences than that, if it had been purſued; and the denying of the body of Chriſt (for I do not find that he mentions any thing of his Soul) to be like ours, tends manifeſtly to this confuſion of the nature, the form, and properties of the humanity of Chriſt with that of his divinity.

Flav. Ep. ad Theod.

Flav. Ep. ad Leon.

There is one thing more in *Eutyches* his way of expreſſing himſelf which is liable to exception; and that is, that before the union, there were two natures, afterwards they were but one; if he ſpeaks of the particular natures of Chriſt, this muſt be very impious

impious or abſurd; either it muſt imply that the divinity was united to Chriſt after he was come in the Fleſh, or that he was at firſt but a meer man, and the divinity was united to him afterwards, for the merit of his obedience; or elſe that the man was before his birth: the firſt I think *Eutyches* did not hold, the latter was ſuſpected by *Leo*, who wiſhes he had been ask'd what he meant by this expreſſion, For where were the two natures before the incarnation? his humanity could not antecede it ſelf, and be before he was man: and he was never purely and ſimply man, but ever from the firſt moment in conjunction with the Godhead; therefore *Leo* fancies that *Eutyches* was of opinion that the ſoul of Chriſt pre-exiſted, and ſo indeed there would be two natures; but it is ſtill abſurd to ſay they were both in Chriſt, for Chriſt denotes the perſon that is conſtituted of both, and ſo they could be never in him until they were united. Mr. *B.* makes *Cyril* ſay the ſame thing, which, if it were true, would either juſtifie *Eutyches*, or involve *Cyril* in the ſame condemnation with him. But our Author has miſtaken *Cyril*, or *Derodon* who furniſh'd him with this notion, and the citations upon which it depends. For *Cyril* never ſaid there were two natures in Chriſt before the Union, but only conſiders the divinity and humanity abſtractedly; not that the humanity ever had a ſeparate exiſtence from the Godhead

Ep. ad Flav. & Julian.

Ch. 6. ſect. 1.

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in Christ; and the result of all *Cyril*'s discourses upon this point is only this, that two different natures very unlike and disproportionable were joyn'd together in the person of Christ, but never thought that one of the particulars united, before that union had any separate existence, nay, his words are expres to the contrary, ὃ γὰρ πρῶτον ἀνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη κοινὸς, *he was not first born an ordinary meer man of the Holy Virgin, and the word came afterwards into him; but being united from the womb he is said so to have undergone a carnal generation.*

Ep. 2. ad Nest.

It was the luck or the cunning of *Eutyches* not to engage far in disputes about his doctrines, or to explain himself much in publick; there he seem'd Orthodox enough; but when he instructed his Monks in private, then he discover'd himself more fully. But the circumspection of the Church, and the zeal of good men, did not suffer it to go on long undiscover'd or uncensur'd. This is no unusual thing with Hereticks, to be reserv'd in publick and promiscuous audiences; and to use greater freedom in select meetings. This was much practis'd amongst us in the late unhappy times: though there was licence enough to say any thing in publick, yet the teachers Spirit (it seems) was under some restraint in the Church, as some men think evil spirits are in consecrated places, and were not free to reveal the mysteries of their sect: of this

we

we have several instances in *Edwards* his *Gangræna*, which I would recommend to the reading of such as are so fond of *Toleration*; and if the effects of it in those times, as they were represented there, do not cure them of that mistaken charity, nothing will, but a too late experience of those evils when they are past remedy.

Having given this short account of the doctrine of *Eutyches*, which they that condemned it understood much better than we can; and could doubtless distinguish from such expressions of their own that sounded like it: We will proceed to the history of its condemnation.

"The Synod of *Constantinople* having "condemn'd *Eutyches*, he made his appli- "cation, first to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*; and "being rejected there, apply'd himself to "the Emperour by the means of his old "friend *Chrysaphius*, an Eunuch in great "favour and credit at Court. He obtain'd "a review of the acts of the former Sy- "nod, before *Florentius* and most of the "same Bishops that had condemn'd him. "*Florentius* was a person of great integri- "ty, and the Bishops after a second hear- "ing, and after the cause of *Eutyches* had "been pleaded by three Monks his Advo- "cates, and all things diligently fisted, "persever'd in the same opinion; and the "issue of this appeal was not a little to the "disadvantage of *Eutyches*, and increas'd "the suspicion of his crime. *Niceph. l.* 14. *c.* 47.

This

Niceph. l. 14. c. 47. Lib. Synod. in Syn. Eph. Dioſc.

This way failing him, he makes uſe of the Eunuchs authority to call a General Council, that ſhould be ſo contriv'd, that *Eutyches* might be acquitted, and *Flavian* depos'd. This *Flavian* had incurr'd the Eunuchs diſpleaſure before by ſending him his εὐλογίας, his Benedictions, in Bread and not in Gold; therefore he was glad of any opportunity to do him ill offices: and he had ſuch an influence upon the Emperour, who was too much addicted to this kind of Vermin, as to ſet him upon the ruine of this Good Biſhop. In order to which, he diſpatches ſeveral Letters to ſummon Biſhops and others to a Council at *Epheſus*, which ſufficiently ſhew his bitterneſs againſt *Flavian*: intimating that the *Neſtorian* Hereſie was ſpringing again, and that there were ſeveral favourers of it; he forbids *Flavian* and the Biſhops that condemn'd *Eutyches* to ſit in the Council; he complains againſt *Flavian* that he had call'd a Synod againſt his will, and proſecuted *Eutyches*, and diſturb'd the Church, notwithſtanding all his advice and orders to the contrary; and in ſhort, the Letters that call'd this Council ſuggeſted ſufficiently what it was to do, and that their only buſineſs was to condemn a Biſhop the Emperour did not care for; though without any juſt ground, nay for his honeſty, if *Nicephorus* relate the buſineſs truly. There is no doubt but the Emperour, or rather this Eunuch who contriv'd all this miſchief, knew how to chooſe

Suidas.

Conc. Chalc. Par. 1. Sacræ, ad Dioſcor. ad Elpid. Comit. &c. Pars 1.

Biſhops

Biſhops for the purpoſe; and the Preſident did admirably ſuit with ſuch a deſign, who beſides his emulation againſt the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, was, it half be true that is ſaid of him, one of the moſt wicked profligate wretches in the World. This Synod in ſhort did the buſineſs it was call'd for, and that not without force, for they us'd all the violence imaginable to fright poor conſcientious men to a concurrence with them: and if any one ſhould offer to ſpeak for *Flavian* or *Euſebius*, the next word was *da comites*, you ſhall go the ſame way if you be troubleſome. *Eutyches* brought in his confeſſion of faith, which was no other than the *Nicene* Creed; and added only that he condemn'd all Hereticks: but when *Sozon* would have put him to explain himſelf concerning the incarnation, *Dioſcorus* and his party would not ſuffer it, for fear he ſhould betray himſelf. And upon that he was abſolv'd. As if a *Socinian* were call'd to a Synod to anſwer for his doctrines, and would make a confeſſion of his faith in the Apoſtles Creed, and when any one ſhould deſire him to explain himſelf farther, moderate comprehending men ſhould cry, this contains all that is neceſſary, there is no need of a farther Teſt: And thus ſome Synods in *Poland* were ſo moderate as to be impos'd upon, which occaſion'd great miſchief to thoſe Reformed Churches there, now almoſt extinguiſh'd under the notion of *Socinians*. How bad ſoever

Act. 1. *Conc. Chalc. T.* 4. *p.* 135.

Act. 1. *Chalc. T.* 4. *p.* 134.

ſoever *Dioſcorus* and this Council were, yet they are in my judgement to be look'd upon rather as favourers of Hereſie than as Hereticks, for although they did threaten to cleave him in ſunder that durſt ſay there are two natures in Chriſt, yet they were not of *Eutyches* his opinion for all that; but follow'd the meaning I believe as well as the words of *Cyril.* And it is obſervable that *Anatolius* in the Council of *Chalcedon* after *Dioſcorus*'s condemnation, ſays expreſly that he was not condemn'd for Hereſie, but Miſdemeanors. *The Judges ſaid, for this reaſon* Dioſcorus *condemn'd* Flavian, *becauſe he ſaid there were two natures in Chriſt.* Anatolius *ſaid,* Dioſcorus *was not condemned for Hereſie, but becauſe he excommunicated* Leo, *and being cited to appear before the Council, refus'd to obey*: The Inſtrument of his Depoſition gives the ſame reaſon, and all the ſubſcriptions that mention any reaſons at all; only that of *Paſchaſinus* charges him with not only receiving *Eutyches*, but of being of his opinion. But becauſe this Council choſe two natures, as the moſt ſafe way of expreſſing the Oeconomy of Chriſts incarnation, *Dioſcorus* cry'd, *cum Patribus ejicior*; and his followers were afterwards call'd *Eutychians*, though they did not own his doctrines; as ſome of the Eaſtern Chriſtians are call'd *Neſtorians*, though they do not really hold the doctrine of *Neſtorius*; but the very ſame with the Eaſtern Biſhops that miſtook *Cyril*'s and

Act. 5. *T.* 4. *p.* 558.

Act. 3. *p.* 458.

and with *Theodorus Tarſenſ.* and *Mopſueſt.* who were miſunderſtood on the other ſide by *Cyril.* But of this we have ſaid enough already.

CHAP. VII.

The Council of Chalcedon.

NOw comes *the great Council of* Chalcedon *under the new Emperour* Martian, *where all is chang'd for a time; yet* Pulcheria, *who married him and made him Emperour, and whoſe power then was great, was the ſame that before had been againſt* Neſtorius, *in her Brothers reign.* Thus far our Church Hiſtorian. It is a marvellous obſervation, *that all ſhould be chang'd for a time, and yet* Pulcheria *be the ſame that condemn'd* Neſtorius, *in her Brothers reign.* She was the ſame perſon I ſuppoſe, though I dare not maintain any *identity* againſt the ſplitting inſtruments which he borrows of *Derodon*; (thoſe Metaphyſical terms I mean, which we have mentioned before,) and our Authors charms and imaginary remedies againſt Hereſie; thoſe Notions that he bewails the ancient Biſhops were ſo dull as not to be able to find out. But if out of ſpecial grace he will allow *Pulcheria* to be the ſame *Pulcheria* in and after her brothers reign, we muſt acknowledge his good nature *p.99. §.14.*

nature in the conceſſion. But where is the wonder all this while? that matters ſhould change, and yet ſhe be ſtill the ſame? It may be that ſhe might not have always the ſame credit and authority with her brother, and if *Nicephorus* may be believ'd in a ſtory that hangs very well together and is very probable, her intereſt was very low when the Second Council of *Epheſus* was call'd; for the end of it was to ruine her favourite *Flavian*, who had given her notice of a Court-plot that was form'd againſt her, to ſhave her, and thruſt her into a Monaſtery: So that it is not much to be wondred at if *Pulcheria* when ſhe had the power in her own hands, ſhould change ſome things that had been done againſt her will, and perhaps deſign'd by the Court on purpoſe to affront her. This then cannot be the wonder; and it would vex a man to ſee one ſtare, and ſtand agaſt, and yet not be able to find out the ſubject of the admiration. It may be (for I will venture to gueſs once more) that the wonder is, that the ſame *Pulcheria* ſhould condemn *Eutyches*, *that had condemn'd* Neſtorius *before*. But why ſhould we wonder at this in *Pulcheria*, more than in *Flavian*, in *Euſebius Doryl.* and a great many others that did the ſame thing at that time? Nay, did not all the world in a manner, all the Catholick Church, condemn both theſe? Will he ſay, that theſe are contradictory Doctrines, and therefore one muſt be true

l.14. c.47, &c.

and

and the other falſe? But Mr. *B.* has determined already, that *Cyril*, *Neſtorius*, *Flavian*, *Eutyches*, all of them meant the ſame thing; and what wonder then is it, if a devout Lady could not find this ſecret conſent of doctrine under appearing contradictions, when the learned Biſhops could not do it, nor after ages, nor the ſubtile diſtinguiſhing School-men, no nor *Derodon* himſelf? However ſince we cannot diſcern the drift and ſhrewdneſs of the obſervation, we ought thankfully to accept what we can underſtand, though that be no great news, *That* Pulcheria *that was Empreſs after her Brothers death, was the very ſame that condemn'd* Neſtorius, *in her Brothers reign.*

This profound Remark is immediately follow'd by another of great acuteneſs; [*That it was never truer than in the caſe of general Councils, that the multitude of Phyſicians exaſperateth the diſeaſe, and kills the patient.*] And yet our Author will have theſe Phyſicians multiply'd without end. If every Congregation have its own Biſhop, what general agreement can we then expect? what unity in a Nation, when Biſhops are grown ſo inordinately numerous? Since it can be no otherwiſe than by a conſultation of theſe Phyſicians, that the publick Peace and Unity can be preſerv'd. *p. 100. ſect. 14.*

Or if this Expedient ſhould fail, what other way is there left? Our Author comes in here, and relieves us in a great ſtrait,

and offers a remedy more Soveraign than all the *Hereticating* Councils in the World. In ſhort it is this: *The word* (θεοτόκος) *the* [*one nature after Union*] *the words* [*One Will and one Operation*] *had never done half ſo much miſchief in the Church if the erroneous had been confuted by neglect, and Councils had not exaſperated, enraged and engag'd them*, and ſet *all the world on taking one ſide or another.*] It is an admirable way to cure Hereſie to neglect it; and to preſerve the Church by deſpiſing ſuch ſmall differences as may be reduced into *a Word.* It was but a word that divided the *Arians* and the *Orthodox*; It was but the Trinity, *Servetus* ſaid, that divided all the World. Deſpiſe the diſputes about this, and then *Chriſtians*, *Jews* and *Mahumetans* may be comprehended under the ſame Rule. It is but the Import of the word *Epiſcopus* that our Diſſenters ſtand ſo much upon; why does not Mr. *B.* perſwade them to deſpiſe this Verbal Controverſie, and ſtudy rather to be quiet than to write about it? But we find he cannot perſwade himſelf to this, otherwiſe the Shops would have wanted divers books that he hath publiſht this year. Nay, we find that he himſelf will not be anſwer'd with Neglect. So that we are like to find little benefit of this rare project for confuting the diſturbers of the Church. For though ſix of his Books that came out in little more than ſix months were let paſs without any Anſwer that I know of: yet

p. 100. *fin.* 14.

yet this Patience has been ſo far from mending his humour, that he writes and writes on ſtill, runs us down with Repetitions, proclaims his own victories, and inſults over our ſilence; and in ſhort he cannot be more violent and outragious, more bitter and malicious under all the provocations imaginable, than he is under that Neglect which himſelf is pleaſed to preſcribe for the cure of them. I wiſh our Author had taken his own advice before this Book was written, practic'd this Mortification upon himſelf. And not gone on as he does ſtill to diſturb the world with perpetual contentions to no purpoſe, but to ſhew how much he wants of a Scholar and a Chriſtian.

But however men may be confuted, yet they are ſeldom convinc'd by neglect, and therefore, leſt that expedient might fail, our Projector ſlurs in another, *One skilful, healing man, that could have explicated ambiguous terms, and perſwaded men to love and peace, until they underſtood themſelves and one another, had more befriended Truth, Piety, and the Church, than all the Hereticating Councils did.* And why may not this skilful man ſhew his skill in Councils as well as elſewhere? why may not many ſuch *skilful healing* men be found in ſuch great Aſſemblies as thoſe of General Councils? Or if ſuch as theſe are ſtrangers to General Councils, why do they not appear ſince the uſe of ſuch Councils has been laid aſide? p. 100. *ubi ſupra.*

We have had several new disputes raised of late, and many of them in the opinion of judicious men, meerly about words and for want of understanding one another, as the Controversie of Justification, Good Works, *&c.* yet we have not found that any of these healing men were able to reconcile parties, any more than the Councils of old, which our Author according to his manner of respect and charity, honours with the Title of *Hereticating* Councils.

p. 100. *sect.* Our Author is is so full of his observations in this place that I am almost weary of observing them, but that in the next Paragraph is so choice, it must not be passed by. *If what* Socrates *writeth of* Theodosius Junior *be true, (as we have no reason to doubt) God own'd his moderation by miracles, notwithstanding his favouring the* Eutychians *more than he did any ways of violence.*] I am afraid that the miracles whereby God own'd *Theodosius*, especially those recorded by *Socrates*, could do but little countenance to the *Eutychian* cause. For *Socrates* little thought of *Eutychians* when he related those miracles. That Heresie was not then known, at leastwise not by that name, when that Historian wrote. For he ends in the 17th Consulship of *Theodosius*, ten years before the beginning of the *Eutychian* Heresie; and that we may be sure this Controversie was not yet sprung, the same Author tells us in the same place, that the Church was then in peace,

Socr. l. 7. *c.* 48. *Prosp. in Chron.*

peace, and *That as long as there is peace, there is little matter for Church-History; and that if men had been peaceable and quiet, he should have been at a loss for materials; and that therefore he does make an end there;* for peace preserving things in the same Order, does not afford variety enough for an Historian.

From whence it is manifest that *Socrates* wrote in that peaceful interval between the first and second Council of *Ephesus*, and could not think of *Theodosius* his moderation in respect of the *Eutychians*; and so Mr. *B.*'s *notwithstanding* might have been spar'd; for *Socrates* says not one word of any miracles in approbation of his favouring of *Eutychians*; or that any were done in favour of *Theodosius* after that, for the History does not reach so far. But if it were allow'd to comment upon the ways of Providence, one might say, that he who was heretofore own'd by God as being wonderfully protected by him, seem'd to lose the divine favour as soon as he favour'd Hereticks; for he dy'd soon after; but far be it from me to make such constructions, for who *can find out the ways of the Lord, or who has been his Councellour?*

Besides, what can be the meaning of Theodosius *his favouring* Eutychians *more than he did any ways of violence*? Was there ever a more violent outragious sort of men than those *Eutychians* he favour'd? Were there

ever greater violences committed than in that infamous Conventicle at *Epheſus*? where *Euſtathius* was kick'd to death, and all thoſe that durſt defend him were threatned to be ſerv'd in like manner; where the cry was, *let him be cleft in ſunder that ſays there are two natures*: What now can our Author mean by favouring ſuch men more than any ways of violence? unleſs it be that he thinks the Emperour took a particular delight in that kind of cruelty; and that he had rather one ſhould be kick'd to death, or cleft down-right, than that he ſhould be hang'd or beheaded, which would not be much to the credit of his Moderation. And to ſay the Truth, his Letter to *Valentinian* diſcovers a ſtrange kind of Spirit; for there he juſtifies the proceedings of the *Eutychians* at *Epheſus*; he ſays *that all things were carry'd on with much freedom, and perfect truth*; *that* Flavian *was found guilty of innovating in Religion, and that he had been treated according as he deſerv'd.* I wonder Mr. *B.* can cite this againſt *Flavian*, and not diſcover the notorious falſity of it. For who does not know the Liberty, that was given there, to have been no other than either of ſubſcribing or of ſuffering baniſhment or death? as we ſhall ſhew preſently more particularly. This is but an ill ſign that Mr. *B.* is a *Hater of falſe Hiſtory*, when he lets this paſs unreprov'd, and puts upon his Reader for Truth that which he muſt needs know to be otherwiſe. And as to *Theodoſius*, whoſe Letter this

Act. Con. Eph. 2. Read *Act.* 1. *Con. Chalc.*

Among the Preambles of the Counc. of *Chalc.*

this is, it is not unlikely that he was impos'd upon by his Eunuch, or whoever elſe penn'd it for him; for he muſt needs know the *Eutychian* Proceedings to be the moſt violent and diſorderly that ever were in any ſolemn Aſſembly.

At laſt Mr. *B.* comes to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Acts of it. *Dioſcorus* in the firſt place *is accus'd for his Epheſine General Council*: Dioſcorus *alledges the Emperours Order, and that all the reſt of that Council conſented and ſubſcrib'd as well as he*: The *Biſhops anſwer'd that they did it againſt their wills, being under fear: condemnation and baniſhment were threatned, and Souldiers were there with Clubs and Swords.* The truth is, Mr. *B.* does moſt diſingenuouſly mince the Acts of the Council, and uſes all the foul play that is poſſible, to render *Dioſcorus* his caſe the more plauſible, and on the other ſide to diſcredit the reſt of the Biſhops that ſaid they were forc'd. The firſt Anſwer of the Eaſtern Biſhops was, *that no man did voluntarily conſent to the condemnation of* Flavian, violenta eſt facta vis cum plagis, *they were beaten to it*; this Mr. *B.* leaves out, becauſe it would go near to excuſe their complyance with a merciful man. And in *Stephen* Biſhop of *Epheſus* his vindication of himſelf, Mr. *B.* uſes the very ſame method; for all that he ſaid is ſlubber'd up in this, *that* Eulogius *and* Elpidius *and ſome* Eutychian *Monks and Souldiers threatned*: Alas! one would think this

p. 100. *ſect.* 17.

Act. 1. *Conſtantin.*

was a poor ſpirited man that would do any thing againſt his judgement for the threatning of theſe men. But let us underſtand from the Acts themſelves what manner of threatning this was. *Stephen* ſays in the firſt place, *that he communicated with* Flavi-
Ibid. an, *and* Euſebius Doryl. *and their Clergy, and received them kindly.* Eulogius *and* Elpidius *with Monks and Souldiers to the number of about three hundred came to him, and would have kill'd him, and then forc'd him to ſubſcribe before he ſhould go out of the Veſtry.* The
Ibid. Anſwer of *Theodore* Biſhop of *Clandiopolis* is maim'd by our Abridger of Church-Hiſtory after the ſame manner, by leaving out that which made moſt for his defence, and taking that part which was moſt liable to Exception: *The Leading men,* ſays he, *lead us on; as ſimple ignorant men that knew not the cauſe; and frighted us by defaming us as* Neſtorian *Hereticks*: Thus Mr. *B.* But the moſt conſiderable circumſtances are omitted: for *Theodore* ſays, *they were impos'd upon at firſt by ſuch Acts as ſeem'd to ſpeak favourably of* Flavian, *that afterwards they were threatned by* Dioſcorus *his party, not only making them of near kin with* Neſtorius, *but adding, Cut them in ſunder that ſay two natures,* dividite, interficite, ejicite, *cleave them, kill them, caſt them out. They were forty two, of one hundred and thirty which made up that Council, who diſſented from* Dioſcorus *and his party at firſt, but could have no free debate, and theſe with this violent uſage were*

ſoon

ſoon reduc'd to fifteen, and they at laſt were forc'd to ſubſcribe a blank paper, to ſave not only their Churches but their lives: And *Thus,* ſays Mr. *B. they cry'd they were frighted.*] And ſurely they had great reaſon to be ſo: Such as though it could not juſtifie them for acting againſt their Conſcience, yet might move pity in men that have any compaſſion of humane infirmity, conſidering that they alſo are ſubject to the like; *let him that ſtandeth have a care leſt he fall.* p. 101.

The Egyptian *Biſhops anſwered, that a Chriſtian fears no man, a Catholick* (*Orthodox*) *fears no man; if men were fear'd, there would be no Martyrs.*] It is much eaſier to ſay than hold: There have ſeveral gone to diſcover themſelves to the Heathen Judges, with the intention and confidence of Martyrs, that were yet ſo frighted as to renounce their Religion before they came away. p. 101.

Upon the reading of the Acts of the Second Council of *Epheſus*, it appear'd how things were carried; Mr. *B.* makes the beſt uſe he can of them to diſgrace the Biſhops; the firſt thing he takes notice of is *Dioſcorus* his words, *Anathematizing any that ſhould contradict or retract any thing held in the Nicene Synod.*] There is a foul miſtake for want of a little Latin, and a little ingenuity; for *Dioſcorus* ſays not one word of *contradicting* or *retracting* the Council of *Nice*. All the debate was whether the Council of *Nice* had explain'd the faith

faith fully, so as to need no farther authentick explication. The Synod is for this, and will have no Additions; and let him be *Anathema* ὁ παραβαίνων τοῦτο, that goes beyond the bounds given by the Fathers; and then, ὐδεὶς προσθήσαν, ὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖ, let no man add or diminish. *Dioscorus* adds, what a fearful thing it will be to offend against God in this particular; and that he is *Anathema* that shall presume to *examine*, or *discuss*, or *revise* the faith agreed on in the Council of *Nice*, or here. The Latin Translator has indeed *retractat*, which Mr. *B.* translates *retract*, as if it were the recantation of what was done in this Council that they provided against. But the Greek word is ἀνασκευάζων, Examining of a thing anew; and therefore πολυπραγμονεῖν is joyn'd with it: So that as to this point they were all agreed, and so in the succeeding Councils likewise, that nothing was to be added to the *Nicene* faith; but since new opinions were daily started, they might examine whether they agreed with that faith, and did not directly or consequentially destroy it; and all this does not add any thing, but only apply emergent cases to the old unalterable Rule.

Con. Labb. T. 4. p. 32.

p. 101. sect. 18. Here Eutyches *his confession at* Ephesus *was read*, saith our Author. But as we have mention'd before in the Council of *C. P.* under *Flavian*, it was only the *Nicene* Creed without those additions that it afterwards generally receiv'd in opposition to

to *Apollinaris* and *Macedonius*, *&c.* How far this may ſecure the Church from Hereſie; the multitude of Hereſies that ſprung after, whereof the greater part would willingly be try'd by the *Nicene* Creed, do ſufficiently ſhew.

Eutyches adds, *that he clear'd to the Epheſine Council, and to* Cyril *who preſided, diſclaiming all additions and alterations, profeſſing that he had himſelf Copies in a book, which* Cyril *himſelf had ſent him, and which is yet in his hands; and that he ſtands to the definition of that Council together with that of* Nice: Ch. Hiſt. p. 101. One may very well ask here, what all this means? What is this that *Eutyches* diſclaims all additions to, and alterations of? What *Copies are theſe* that *Eutyches* had by him? and what *definition of that Council* does he join with that of *Nice*? Here is nothing but nonſenſe and confuſion. The caſe is thus, *Eutyches* gave the *Nicene* Creed for his faith, and acknowledg'd the Council of *Epheſus*, and *Cyril*; and farther adds, that *Cyril* and the Council of *Epheſus* paſs'd a decree, that nothing ſhould be added to the *Nicene* Creed; and that he had a Copy of that decree by him. Euſebius Doryl. *gives him the lye*, and ſays, *there was no ſuch decree paſt.* The Truth is, ſuch a thing there was, and is ſtill extant in the Acts of that Council: but not altogether to that purpoſe, for which *Eutyches* does mention it. The deſign of that decree is only this, that the *Nicene* Creed ſhall be the only publick form, *Conc. Lab. T. 3. p. 689.*

and

and that no other be taught, to such as are *Converted from Jews*, or *Heretick*s, or *Infidels*; but that this form should stand unalter'd: which is no more than if we should determine that no Article should be added to that which is call'd the Apostles Creed, which is the common form of our solemn confession of faith; and that no Bishop or Minister should devise new forms to be us'd in its stead. This is the design of that Decree; and *Cyril* could mean no otherwise: for if any one should teach new doctrines that might not be absolutely contradictory to the express words of that Creed, yet he should be condemn'd though he still own'd that Confession of Faith: *Nestorius* his case was of that sort, and therefore the Synod says, *that since several do shelter themselves under the generals of this Creed, and put their own construction upon the Articles, they were to be confuted out of the Fathers*; and so *Nestorius* was condemn'd notwithstanding he profes's'd to receive the *Nicene* Creed.

Con. Eph. Act. 6. T. 3. p. 671.

Our Author goes on, and tells his Reader, When *Basil* Bishop of *Seleucia* is reproach'd by *Dioscorus for having prevaricated and despis'd the faith, for the fear of men*; He makes this Answer, *If I had been call'd to Martyrdome before the Judges I had endured it, but he that is judged of a Father useth just means*, (it is the contrary which that Bishop says *justis non utitur*; does not make use even of all lawful means to vindicate him-

p. 102. fect.

Act. 1.

himſelf.) After this the Eaſtern Biſhops cry'd, *We have all ſinned, we all crave pardon*, and this in the next page our Author obſerves to the diſcredit of the Biſhops of thoſe times, *that they were ſo far from the Martyrs conſtancy, that they turn'd as the Emperours Countenance and the Times, and worldly intereſt turn'd, Voting down things and perſons in one Council, and crying* Omnes peccavimus *in the next.* How eaſie they were to follow the Emperours Inclination in this caſe we have ſeen already, in the Account theſe Biſhops gave of the violence us'd towards them. When Souldiers and a giddy Rabble of Monks with Swords and Staves, like Bedlam broke looſe, run upon men with open mouth, denouncing death and deſtruction; We ought rather to pity the infirmity of thoſe poor men that were overborn with the Temptation, than to inſult over them. It may be they had no mind to be Martyrs in this Controverſie, that muſt be confeſs'd, as it was manag'd, to be ſomething perplex'd; though neither theſe nor any other terrours could have prevail'd with them to betray their religion: And it is not unlikely, that had they had the cauſe of the Martyrs which was plain and indiſputable, they might likewiſe have had their Reſolution and Conſtancy; and *Baſil Seleuc.* does mention, when this levity is objected to him, *that he had behav'd himſelf with greater courage upon the account of Religion at C. P.* probably againſt *Macedonius*, p.103,111.

nius, or the *Arians*. Mr. *B.* who is here so severe upon the *Bishops* for sacrificing their Consciences to their fears, might have remember'd, that when the *Jews* came *with Swords and with Staves* to take our Saviour, the *Disciples forsook him and fled*, and *Peter* deny'd his Master out of fear; and yet they were all receiv'd again upon their return, and entrusted with the planting and propagation of the Gospel.

§. 19. From these warm debates of the Bishops, Mr. *B.* observes *two lamentable, undeniable things*. The Reader may observe, that when our Author ventures upon Observations, it is more than an even lay that he is out; I believe his memory betrays his judgement, for his eye is no sooner off of the book to consider, but he loses his story. Now let us see what he infers *from what he has recited*, as he says, *out of* Binius *and others*.

p. 103. sect. 19. 1. *That this doleful Contention, Anathematizing, and ruining of each other, was about the sense of ambiguous words, and that they were of one mind in the matter and knew it not.* Who were they that were of one mind and knew it not? *Eutyches* and those that oppos'd him? They were far from being of a mind, for *Eutyches* deny'd Christ *to be truly and properly man*, i. e. to have the proprieties, and the Constituents of Humane Nature; and the *Monothelites*, *Theopaschites*, &c. were the Genuine Disciples of *Eutyches*, and own'd those Consequences of his Doctrines which he

he did not think fit to publiſh. Or who elſe were thoſe *that were of one mind, and knew it not*? *Dioſcorus* and *Flavian*? I am apt to believe they were much of the ſame Opinion as to the point in Controverſie; and knew it well enough; which was the only reaſon why *Dioſcorus*, with his party of Biſhops and Monks, would not endure to come to any Debate of that matter, for fear it would appear that they all agreed, and then there would have been no pretence to condemn *Flavian*, which was the deſign, if not of the Emperor, yet at leaſtwiſe of thoſe that govern'd him; and ſeveral Biſhops in that infamous Aſſembly at *Epheſus* were about to make this Mutual conſent in Doctrine appear, if the Monks, the Myrmidons of *Dioſcorus*, would have given them leave to ſpeak? Or laſtly, did not the Biſhops in the Council of *Chalcedon* underſtand one another? The contrary is notorious, from their Debates, and their Subſcriptions. The *Egyptians* indeed ſcrupled ſubſcribing, not upon the account of the matter, but the form; becauſe they had no Metropolitane, (*Dioſcorus* being now depos'd) and it was againſt their uſage to ſign any thing in Council without their Metropolitane; and as ſoon as they had one, they ſubſcrib'd willingly. But *if they were all of a mind and knew it, How did they condemn* Dioſcorus? *Anatolius* confeſſes in the Council, and no man contradicted him, that *Dioſcorus was not condemn'd for Hereſie but Miſdemeanours*: Well; But, why did

Dioſcorus

Dioſcorus abſolve *Eutyches*, if he had not thought him to be of his opinion? There is good reaſon for that: for *Flavian* could not be condemn'd, unleſs *Eutyches* were abſolv'd; and that thoſe very men that receiv'd him did not think he was of their opinion, though their expreſſions were the ſame, appears manifeſtly from the manner of their tranſacting that affair; for when ſome well-meaning Biſhops were ſo curious as to deſire he ſhould explain himſelf in that point of doctrine for which alone he had been call'd in queſtion, *Dioſcorus* forbids any farther ſearch, for fear Hereſie would appear, and then *Flavian* muſt be acquitted. The Caſe was juſt as if a Papiſt were to purge himſelf of that Imputation in an *Aſſembly of Divines*, and ſhould offer the *Nicene Creed* for his Faith: But ſome honeſt plain men, not ſatisfy'd with this Impertinent vindication in thoſe things he was not queſtion'd for, putting croſs queſtions about *Tranſubſtantiation* or *Supremacy*, ſhould immediately be check'd, and all ſhould cry, we will have nothing added to the *Nicene* Faith; would not any one conclude that this Reverend Aſſembly was afraid Popery would appear, and that the man that for private Reaſons they would acquit for that time, would diſcover himſelf to hold ſuch opinions, as he could not be able to approve to that Aſſembly? This is the naked caſe; from whence the Reader may judge, how far theſe were of one mind;

mind: and that men of very different opinions joyn'd to ſerve a preſent turn; and united in deſign, when they knew ſome of them, that their doctrines could never be reconcil'd.

Mr. *B.* to make out that they were *all of one mind*, ſhews how they came to be miſtaken. *The* Egyptians (Eutychians) *took two natures and two ſons to be of the ſame ſenſe, which the others did not.*] The *Egyptians* indeed took two natures to imply two ſons; for they took *nature* in the ſenſe *Cyril* us'd it, for *hypoſtaſis*, and ſo it really did imply two perſons: but they acknowledg'd diſtinct properties of the divinity and humanity, which *Eutyches* did not; and ſo *Eutychians* and *Egyptians* are not altogether the ſame thing. 2. Though at firſt the *Egyptians* ſeem'd not to underſtand what *Flavian* meant by two natures; yet it is evident that there was ſomething of wilfulneſs in that miſtake; and at the Council of *Chalcedon* it was quite taken away, and all ſubſcrib'd to two natures, that yet own'd *Cyril*'s expreſſions of but one *Nature Incarnate.* p. 102. fect. 19. 1.

It is plain (ſaith Mr. *B.*) *that while all ſides held, that* Neſtorius *held, that there were two ſons* (*which he expreſly deny'd*) *that they accus'd* Neſtorius *in ignorance.*] It is true indeed that *Neſtorius* own'd but one ſon: but how? one *in dignity and title only*, as we have ſhew'd before; but that unity was of perſons, *i. e.* really diſtinct accord- p. 103. 11.

ing to his notion; taking perſon properly for an intelligent ſubſiſtence, and not for a notional unity of two things, really diſtinct, in the participation of the ſame common name or title, which was really the ἓν πρόσωπον of *Neſtorius*. And Mr. *B.* is ſo confident of this notion of his, as to conclude with this defiance to all gain-ſayers, *This is true, whatſoever faction ſhall ſay againſt it.*] If it were a Faction that ſpoke againſt this truth, it was a mighty ſtrong and general Faction, and was never oppos'd by any perſon before Mr. *B.* For then all ſides granted they diſagreed one from the other, and ſucceeding ages were of the ſame opinion; and all the factions in the world agreed in this, that *Neſtorius* and thoſe that oppos'd him, ſpoke abſolute contradictions to each other.

p. 104. The next remarkable thing that our Author cites out of the debate of this Council, is that about the words of *Cyril*, which in the next Paragraph he calls *Eutychian words*, they are theſe: *We muſt not conceive two natures in Chriſt but one Incarnate.* Theſe words may ſound harſh to one that is not acquainted with *Cyril*'s manner of expreſſing himſelf: But they are not yet *Eutychians*. For *Eutyches* his opinion is condemn'd by *Euſtathius*, (who cites theſe words of *Cyril*,) immediately after. *He that ſays there is but one nature, ſo as to deny Chriſts fleſh which is conſubſtantial with us.* So Mr. *B.* tranſlates indeed, out of the Latin Tranſlator,

ſlator, who miſtook the ſenſe of this place. The words of *Euſtathius* were theſe, ὁ λέγων μίαν φύσιν δεῖ ἀναιρεῖσθαι τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ χεῖρον τῆς ὁμοουσίας ἡμῖν, *he that affirms one nature to the taking away of the conſubſtantiality of Chriſts fleſh to ours*, or *to the denying that his fleſh is of the ſame ſubſtance with ours, let him be accurs'd.*] Which was the doctrine of *Eutyches*, whereof he was convicted by ſeveral Witneſſes in the Council of *C. P.* and *Baſil Seleuc.* one of the cleareſt men in all this Council makes a wide difference between ſaying one *nature incarnate*, or of the *word incarnate*, and *one nature abſolutely*, which was the errour of *Eutyches*, as he affirm'd. Though in the Council of *C. P. Eutyches* makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion (unleſs we may think thoſe Acts corrupted by the Council of *Epheſus* in favour of *Eutyches*, as *Flavian* complains they were, to render his opinion more plauſible) I have ſhew'd before how ill the notion of *Cyril* about the Incarnation did agree with that of *Eutyches*. *Act.* 2.

Mr. *B.* had great reaſon to note the Impudence of *Binius*, in calling this allegation of *Euſtathius* out of *Cyril*, to be Wicked and Heretical; ſince he does no more than cite *Cyril*'s words: but this remark is left out of latter Editions.

After this, Mr. *B.* brings in *Dioſcorus* defending himſelf by the authority of *Cyril*, who maintains *one nature incarnate*, and then concludes, *I am condemn'd with the Fathers; they ſay the ſame that I do.* [I muſt repeat *p.* 104. *ſect.* 22.

therefore once more, what I had ſaid before, that *Dioſcorus* was not condemn'd for Hereſie, but for condemning and murdering
p. 104. *Flavian*, *&c.* And although our Author ſeems to be diſſatisfy'd that when *Dioſcorus offers ſatisfaction to God and you*, i. e. *Euſebius Doryl.* his repentance was not accepted; yet I ſuppoſe he is not in earneſt; for upon other occaſions he is inexorable in much leſſer matters: and ſurely if any Miſdemeanours may depoſe a Biſhop that has nothing to plead but the Orthodoxneſs of his belief, *Dioſcorus* was juſtly condemn'd, and yet our Author obſerves that a *verbal quarrel was turn'd to perſonal revenge*, becauſe *Euſebius Doryl.* reply'd upon *Dioſcorus*, that *he muſt ſatisfie the law.*

Mr. *B.* concludes his citations out of the firſt Action of this Council, with the ſubſcriptions of the Biſhops in the Council of *Epheſus* whereby they abſolv'd *Eutyches*; which being read in the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Biſhops concern'd had no excuſe, but to cry, *Omnes peccavimus.* Our Author it ſeems takes great delight in repeating as often as he can this recantation of thoſe Biſhops, looking upon it, I ſuppoſe, as a great undervaluing and reproach to confeſs an errour. The Spirit of Schiſm is very nice in point of honour, and reckons nothing ſo great a diſgrace as the acknowledgement of a miſtake; where it is once engag'd, no conviction ſhall be able to reclaim it, though it be in the moſt indefen-

ſible

ſible thing in the World. And though intereſt and conſcience ſhould oblige to return; yet in honour he muſt not recede, nor recant what no Rhetorick is able to palliate. Recantation, whether they be in the right or the wrong, appears equally infamous. A late briſk defender of *Non-conformity* out of fondneſs for a ſmart ſaying in *Religio Medici* has dropp'd an unlucky truth, *that he is not ſo much afraid as aſham'd of Conformity.* I have charity enough to believe him that he is indeed aſham'd of owning that which he has ſo fiercely oppos'd, not ſo much by his reaſoning, as by his *ill manners* and *ſcurrility.* For my part I do not envy theſe men this inflexible ſtiffneſs of Spirit, but do ſincerely pity them, although the witty Author juſt now mention'd has derided *Compaſſion*, no leſs than Mr. *B.* has Repentance, and Recantation. However I had rather be found among thoſe Biſhops that cry'd *Peccavimus* after a fault, which yet had all the excuſes that can be made from violence and compulſion; than to maintain a Schiſm upon a point of honour, and for ſhame of confeſſing to have been in the wrong.

In the third Action, among many things, our *Abridger* of *Church-Hiſtory* faſtens upon the law of *Theodoſius* for the confirming of the ſecond *Epheſine* Council, and the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*, and of *Flavianus*, *Domnus*, *&c.* One would expect here that our Hiſtorian being tir'd with throwing dirt *p.* 104.

at the Bishops and their Councils, should divert the outragious Spirit, by giving him one loose at Emperours and Courts. But no such matter, he scorns to change his game, and therefore charges the Bishops with the faults of the Magistrate, and lays all the blame upon them; *So far* (says he) *could fierce and factious Prelates prevail with a pious and peaceable Prince, by the pretences of opposing Heresie and Schism.*] And what authority has our Author to ground this observation upon? What if the Eunuchs and Courtiers prevail'd upon the Emperour? and the Emperour prevail'd upon some Bishops by fair means, upon others by force, to condemn those persons as Hereticks, and to make way for his Edict against them? what then? (will you say) no extraordinary matter: Only Mr. *B.* when he comes to make observations mistakes the Fact, and the more bitter and malicious he endeavours to be, the greatest oversights he usually commits. It was once the hard fortune of the Christians to father every calamity that befel the publick; if the Army had evil success, or the Harvest prov'd scanty; if pestilence, or famine afflicted the Heathens, the Christians were the cause of all this Mischief: To the Lyons, to the Stake with them. It fares no better with the Bishops in Mr. *B.*'s History; whatever is done amiss, it is by their procurement. Whose act soever that be, a Princes or an Eunuchs, or a Monks, or a Womans, yet still

Niceph. l. 14. Synod. Eph. Diosc. Elib. Synodico.

ſtill the blame is the Biſhops. And this is the cry which ſome men teach their Diſciples to uſe. If Trade fail, O theſe Lordly Biſhops ſpoyl all; if a Brother ſhut up Shop, and conveys himſelf away without evening his accounts, the Biſhops have undone him. The truth is, theſe men or their neighbours have great reaſon to pray the Biſhops may always continue; for this peeviſhneſs and gall which is ſo predominant in this party of men, if it have not its ordinary vent, will taint the blood, and turn into Jaundice and other evil diſtempers; or if it fly out, it will diſturb the peace of the family, or of the neighbourhood, or it may be of the Kingdome: So neceſſary it is for this ſort of men to have ſomething to rail at, and to exerciſe that freedom of ſpeech upon, which is part of their *Liberty of Conſcience.*

In the next place our Author relates at large out of the fifth Action of the Council, (which he miſtook for the fourth, being deceiv'd by the running Title in *Binius* that is falſe Printed) what paſs'd between the Council and the *Egyptian* Biſhops; and this he did not think fit to *Abridge*, becauſe he did not conceive it much for the honour of the perſons concern'd. The debate it muſt be confeſs'd was ſomething too warm; but that heat was not altogether without reaſon. The caſe in ſhort was thus: The Council had condemn'd *Eutyches* for a Heretick, and *Dioſco-*

rus for receiving him into Communion, and for other Misdemeanours. The *Egyptian* Bishops, considering how far they were engag'd in the same crime, and standing in a near Relation to *Dioscorus*, began to be afraid that they might possibly be involv'd in the same punishment: and therefore petition'd the Emperour, declaring the uprightness of their faith; and condemning all Heresies, but not naming *Eutyches*. This Petition was read before the Council, which immediately made this exception, *Why did they not condemn* Eutyches? They answer'd, that they condemn'd him, or any body else, that taught any thing against the faith. This was look'd upon as a delusory answer: and the Council began to press them closer: At last they condemn'd *Eutyches*. Having been brought thus far, they were call'd upon to subscribe his condemnation. This they scrupl'd, which made the Council jealous of them, upon the account of their dependance upon *Dioscorus*, and of their behaviour in the second *Ephesine* Council: and therefore they resolv'd to press the point home. The *Egyptians* pretended they could not subscribe according to the custome of their Church without their *Patriarch*. Their Tergiversation all along made the Bishops look upon this as a Trick; yet at last, when they understood the case, they admitted of this expedient; that they should give security that they should not leave *Chalcedon* before

before they had a New Metropolitan, and ſo the debate ended. If this buſineſs ſeem to have been manag'd with too much heat, it is not much to be wondred at, all circumſtances conſider'd, and eſpecially the injuries and provocations that ſeveral of the Council had receiv'd before from *Dioſcorus* and his party. Men will be men, where-ever they are plac'd, whether in a Council, or in the Church, or even at the Altar.

The next buſineſs (ſays Mr. *B.*) *was with the Abbots of the Monks* (it would have been great news to have found Abbots of Seculars,) *who had petition'd the Emperour for a Council to end their broyls, and that without perturbations. Theſe petition'd that* Dioſcorus *might be call'd*: He was *call'd* indeed ſeveral times before, but he did not think fit to come; but they would have him *reſtor'd*; and the Council oppoſing them, they began to talk impertinently about Religion. Among theſe was *Barſumas*, who had headed a great number of the ſame ſort of Cattel at the Second *Epheſine* Council, and had aſſiſted in the murdering of *Flavian*, encouraging his Monks to make ſure work, *kill, ſlay, knock him on the head*, &c. It is not unlikely but ſome of theſe, if not all, (for ſome in this Council charge him with having headed 1000 Monks) had been with him at *Epheſus*; and it is not very material whether ſuch giddy ſanguinary fellows were ſatisfy'd with the Council or no. If the countenance p. 106. fin. 25.

of

of this ſort of men ſignify'd any thing, there was number enough that own'd the Council, and give the Emperour thanks, *that his Chriſtian Authority had caſt out* Eutyches, *who had ſpoke blaſphemouſly againſt our Saviour, and ſow'd Tares in the Church.*

Act. 5.

p. 107. *ſect.* 26. *At laſt* (ſays Mr. *B.*) *there was a diſſention whether* Leo's *phraſe ſhould be put into their Definition of Faith, (now drawn up anew.)* There is no mention there of Leo's *phraſes*, but only τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσφερόμενα, the Contents of his Letter ſhould be inſerted into the *Definition* or *Rule* of Faith. This inſerting of it into their Definition was, I believe, no other than what we find in the larger Declaration of Faith drawn up in this Council; where the Epiſtle of *Leo* is receiv'd, together with thoſe of *Cyril* to *Neſtorius*, as Expoſitions of the Faith deliver'd them by the Council of *Nice*. Mr. *B.* ſays that *Leo's Epiſtle was a while run down.* There was no ſuch thing, but only ſome ſaid *that their Rule of Faith was full enough without it.* It was not becauſe they had any exception againſt the doctrine of it, but becauſe they would preſerve their Rule as ſimple, and with as little addition as they could. But at laſt it was yielded to, ſaith Mr. *B.* when the *Illyrican Biſhops had firſt ſlighted* Rome, and cryed, *Qui contradicunt* (*Definitioni*) *Neſtoriani ſunt*, *qui contradicunt*, Romam *ambulent*: He muſt be very captious that can interpret this for a ſlight; And it does not appear, that the Legates, who were uſually very apprehenſive of

of ſlights put upon their See, did take any notice of it. I am not very much concerned whether it were or no, I muſt confeſs I do not find in my ſelf any great devotion for that See to vindicate it from any ſlights, yet I believe this we now ſpeak of was never intended as one. Only our Author, according to the uſual ſucceſs of his obſervations, miſunderſtands the matter. *The Judges aſſiſting in this Council* propounded it as the Emperours direction, that they ſhould appoint ſelect Biſhops out of every Province to draw up their Confeſſion of Faith, or elſe that every Metropolitan in the name of his Province ſhould make a Declaration of his Faith; otherwiſe that the Emperour would call a General Council in the Weſt, ſince they would not determine this preſent Controverſie: Upon which *Cecropius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtopolis* ſaid, *We deſire the Definition may be read, and then thoſe that will not ſubſcribe and conform to rightful Determinations*, let them walk to *Rome*, *i. e.* to that General Council which the Emperour threatened to call in the Weſt. And the *Illyrican* Biſhops ſeconded this Motion: Thoſe that contradict are *Neſtorians*, let them walk to *Rome*. What manner of ſlight this was, is not eaſily gueſs'd; at the worſt, theſe Biſhops did no more ſlight *Rome*, than *Cecropius* did the Weſt, whither he bid the Diſſenters walk, to be ſatisfy'd. *Act.* 5.

In the next Paragraph our Author makes *Theodoret* ſpeak what was never in his §. 26.

thoughts,

thoughts, nor indeed in any honeſt mans: *Theodoret* ſaid, *I take not my ſelf to ſay true, but I know I pleaſe God.*] Theſe are not *Theodoret*'s, but Mr. *B.*'s words, and very applicable to himſelf and his *Church Hiſtory*: For as mean an opinion as I have of his knowledge in Church Hiſtory, I doubt not he can read Latin when he has the book before him; and yet when he does that, I am afraid that many times, *He takes not himſelf to ſay true.* But perhaps he may be of opinion, that a pious fraud may be accepted; and that by calumniating the Biſhops whom he takes for *Enemies to the Kingdom of Chriſt*, and gratifyers of the Devil, he *may pleaſe God*, I cannot clear him of that in other places ſo well as in this: Here our Authors fault was only ignorance of *Theodorets* language, or a miſtake of his Latin Tranſlation, which I ſhall rectifie, for it is pity the good Father ſhould ſuffer by it. His words are theſe, ἐπ' ἀληθείας ὰ λέγω, οἶμαι ὡς οἶδα ἀρέσκειν τῷ θεῷ: that is in Engliſh, *In good truth, I do not ſpeak, but as I know is pleaſing to God*: The Latin Tranſlation puzled our Author: *Vere* (i. e. reverà) *non dico, niſi quomodo novi placere Deo.* The next words of our Author do as much wrong the ſenſe, though not ſo much the Reputation of *Theodoret*: *I would firſt ſatisfie you of my belief*: whereas *Theodoret* ſaid only πείσω ὑμᾶς, i. e. *I would perſwade you in the firſt place that I regard not preferment.* The Latin thus, *Prius ſatisfacio vobis quia neque de*

Diſp. 1. of Ch. Gov.

civitate

civitate cogito, &c. And at last, after a great deal of that debate about *Theodoret*, our Author concludes, *do not these words here Translated out of* Binius *agree too well with* Gregory Nazianzen's *character of Bishops and their Councils?* How well they may agree with *Nazianzen* is not so material: but they should have agreed better either with the Original, or at least with the Translation out of which our Author Translated them: and yet for all this our Author will understand all these Greek Bishops better than they did one another, or even themselves.

In the next place we have an account of *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa*; *His Epistle to* Maris *against* Cyril *was acquitted*; *at least the Bishop upon the reading of it. It is a sad Narrative of the Calamitous Divisions which these Prelates and their Councils made.*] In the first place there is no truth in what our Author says, *that this Epistle was acquitted*; for the Council says no such thing. In the next place *Ibas* was not acquitted upon the reading of this, any more than a prisoner is acquitted upon the reading of his Impeachment; but he was upon the defence he made, that he communicated with *Cyril*, and receiv'd his Orthodox interpretation of those twelve Articles which before he thought *to be full of Impiety.* *Baronius An.* 432. (deceiv'd by *Gregory* the Great, and the Acts of the Second Council of *Nice*) concludes this Epistle

p. 108. *sect.* 28.

Act. 10. *Con. Chalc.*

Gregor. l. 7. *Ep.* 53. *Act.* 6.

ſtle to be forg'd, and falſely father'd upon *Ibas*; but *Anno* 448. he recants, and owns it to be genuine. The truth is, *Ibas* himſelf never pretended to diſown it, neither at *Tyre* nor *Berytus*, nor *Chalcedon*, where this was objected againſt him; but confeſſed, that before *Cyril* explain'd himſelf, he thought him a Heretick, and follow'd the Judgement of the Eaſtern Biſhops. Some ſay this Epiſtle was written whileſt *Ibas* was a *Neſtorian* before the Reconciliation; but the words of that letter are expreſs to the contrary: for it mentions the Union and Peace of the Churches by the means of *Paulus Emiſſenus*. How then comes he to give ſuch an odious account of *Cyril*, and the proceedings of the Council of *Epheſus*? The Truth is, the Eaſtern Biſhops were not ſo ingenuous and fair after their Reconciliation with *Cyril*, as he was towards them; however he goes in Mr. *B.'s Hiſtory* under ſo odious a character. Who ever reads his Letters to *Neſtorius*, and to *John* of *Antioch*; and conſiders with what candour he acts; muſt needs ſee that he had very hard meaſure from thoſe whom he treated with great ingenuity and confidence. The Eaſtern men are ſtill upon the diſparagement of *Cyril*'s proceedings, and the vindication of themſelves; with what Truth or Reaſon, has been ſhew'd already; and *Ibas* here purſues the ſame prejudices, and would inſinuate that his party had the Right, and *Cyril* was their Convert: But if there

here was any change of opinion on either ſide, it was on theirs: for firſt they joyn'd with *Neſtorius*, and afterwards condemn'd him: Yet this Epiſtle of *Ibas* ſhews that there was a core left ſtill.

In the eleventh Action, two Biſhops (Baſſianus *and* Stephen) *ſtrive for the Biſhoprick of* Epheſus; *And*, ſaith our Author, *while the Biſhops were for one of them, the Judges paſs'd ſentence to caſt out both.* One would imagine here that the *Judges paſs'd ſentence* againſt the conſent, or inclination of the Biſhops; But there is no ſuch matter; it was not the Judges but the Biſhops paſt this ſentence. When the cauſe of theſe two Biſhops was examin'd, the Judges propounded it to the Biſhops to determine of the right that was in Diſpute; *the Biſhops anſwer'd, that the right was on* Baſſianus *his ſide, let the Canons take place*, for *Baſſianus* was the firſt Poſſeſſour. The Judges repreſented to them, *that in their opinion neither of them were fit to be continu'd Biſhops, yet referr'd the whole matter to the Council to determine as it ſhould think fit.* And this Mr. *B. calls paſſing a ſentence, while the Biſhops were againſt it.* The Biſhops finding that *Stephen* was not like to carry the cauſe, for they had no great favour for him, becauſe he had been a very active Inſtrument of *Dioſcorus* in the ſecond Council of *Epheſus*, willingly conſented the other ſhould be turn'd out too; and were ſo extremely ſatisfy'd with this expedient, that they cry'd it up preſently, and own'd it to be

p. 109. Act. 29.

Act. 11.

be a Divine ſuggeſtion: and ſo the Biſhops who (Mr. *B.* ſays) were for one, did indeed paſs ſentence againſt both Competitors.

p. 109, 110, 111. ſect. 32, &c.

At laſt our Author enquires after the ſucceſs of all this: *What Concord did theſe late Councils procure to the Churches? From that time moſt of the Chriſtian World was diſtracted into Factions, Hereticating and killing one another.* The *Alexandrians* murder'd *Proterius* their *Biſhop choſen by the Council of* Chalcedon. And to aggravate the cruelty, Mr. *B.* ſays *they ſpar'd not to taſt his Entrails with their Teeth like Dogs.* The miracle of *taſting with Teeth* would be much greater than the cruelty, and go a great way to juſtifie the barbarity of the Action, if it were true. But what ſhall we ſay to theſe lamentable conſequences of theſe Councils? Was it the misfortune, or the fault of theſe only, not to be able to heal the differences of the Church? Or elſe was the defect in the Councils, or the blame to be imputed to thoſe obſtinate men that oppos'd the Rule eſtabliſh'd by them? Theſe were not the firſt Councils that have miſcarried as to their deſign of Univerſal Reconciliation. The Council of *Jeruſalem* under the Apoſtles, that determined the Controverſie about Circumciſion; did not preſently ſilence all Diſputes about that Queſtion: For the Church of *Galatia* was preſently after divided about it. The Council of *Nice*, though it quieted the *Arian* Controverſie for a while, yet it was not able to prevent thoſe lamenta-

(*Guſtare more Canum.*)

lamentable Contentions which the ſame queſtion afterwards occaſioned. Or if *Biſhops and their Councils* could provide no effectual Remedies for the violent diſtempers of the Church; let us ſee what *Presbyterian Synods* have done. The Synod of *Dort* condemn'd the *Arminians*, and Subſcrib'd certain Articles, declaring their Doctrine in the points in Controverſie; yet the diſeaſe was ſo far from abating, that it grew more violent, and the Civil Magiſtrate was oblig'd to ſecond the determinations of the Synod by inflicting Impriſonment and Exile upon ſuch as would not ſubſcribe; and yet all this would not do, for the ſame breach remains unclos'd unto this day. Our Author in his meek Anſwer to the Dean of *Pauls* Sermon ſays very kind things of the *Aſſembly of Divines*: and yet theſe, with their *Catechiſms*, *Directory*, and *Annotations*, and Overthrowing of the Epiſcopal Church Government, (upon which they charg'd all the Miſcarriages, and Diviſions of the Church,) were ſo far from Reconciling the people, that after this they were diſtracted into innumerable Schiſms. Never was there ſo lamentable a face of things, never ſuch variety of Hereſie, and ſuch wantonneſs and Extravagance in Blaſpheming God, under pretence of Religion and Conſcience; and this is the ſtate whither the ſame manner of Men are driving again. "Experience (they ſay) is the Miſtriſs of "Fools, but they are Fools to be begg'd

" whom even experience ſo dearly purchas'd " is not able to make wiſer. But to return to the ſucceſs of theſe Councils.

Now ſince Councils, whether of Biſhops, or Presbyters, have oftentimes ſo bad ſucceſs, what is to be done? What other remedies ſhall we find more effectual? The Papiſts have left the uſe of General Councils of late, He who had among them the chief authority of ſummoning ſuch Councils, being grown jealous of that way; and the Condition of the Eccleſiaſtical Roman Empire has been for ſome ages not unlike that in which *Livy* repreſents the Heathen Roman Empire in his time, *nec vitia noſtra ferre poſſumus nec remedia.*

At laſt a great part of the Weſtern Church weary of expecting relief by a General Council from that Tyranny and Corruption under which it labour'd, was forc'd to uſe extraordinary means to reform themſelves; and what they could not do all together, they did ſeverally, as they had Opportunity. It was the good fortune of our Church to Reform it ſelf with the countenance and aſſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate, and therefore they could do it by degrees, and with greater Moderation, than other Churches, who muſt contend with the Civil power about it, and who had no other ſtrength than the zeal and Reſolution of the People. As ſoon as this Reformation began to take root deep enough here, the Clergy, Aſſembled in a National Synod, eſtabliſh'd a rule for Unity

and

and peace, and to prevent disputes as much as was possible: This rule comprehended the Doctrine, Worship and Discipline of this Church which was at first receiv'd with universal joy and approbation, None but *Papists* opposing it; But some time after some few discontented then under pretence of Zeal against *Popery*, took the part of the *Papists* against this rule; and it is observable, that as one faction grew up and gather'd strength, so did the other; that one's right and left hand can hardly grow in evener proportion; so that one would fancy, that either they advanc'd by some secret consent, or were nourish'd from the same Common Stomach; It may be from him that *Palavicini* calls the Stomach as well as the Head of the Church, the *Pope*: And what shall be at last done for these Protestants, as they call themselves? Shall every one be left to himself without any rule? The effect of this will be, that in a little time we shall have no Religion at all. Shall this rule be alter'd? We can have no assuance that when it is alter'd, we shall find any Conformity to it then more than now; and this, as it is, has the advantage of any innovation, if for nothing else, yet for its standing, and that it is an Antient Establishment. In short, these that Cry out against this rule, seem to have a great respect for the Protestants of Queen *Elizabeths* time, and that Reign is counted the Golden age of this Kingdom. Let us consider then what was

their Rule, whether 36 or 39 Articles, and that Rule that made them ſo happy, may, if preſerv'd entire, keep us ſo ſtill.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Authors of Hereſies, Schiſms, and Corruptions, and whether they were all Biſhops.

I Have hitherto gone along with Mr. *B.* ſtep by ſtep, conceiving it neceſſary to make a more particular Vindication of the Church in theſe times, as well becauſe they were the beſt that the Chriſtian World has had for true piety and zeal; as alſo becauſe our Church Profeſſes to receive the four firſt General Councils; and laſtly becauſe all ſober moderate Chriſtians have always had, and ſtill retain a great eſteem and veneration for many of thoſe perſons that are repreſented ſo odiouſly in Mr. *B.*'s Church-Hiſtory. I do not pretend to juſtifie every thing that was done by all the Biſhops and Councils of thoſe times. There have been wicked men, and wicked Biſhops in all times, and the Church under the Apoſtles, nay their own Order, was not ſo happy as to have none but good men of it. But I hope I have ſhewed ſufficiently that things were not as Mr. *B.* repreſents them; and that moſt of his particular Accuſations are

void

void of all truth and ingenuity. I must deal with him hereafter more Summarily, and Answer the drift and design of his Book, which is to render *Episcopacy* Odious under the more invidious name of *Diocesan Prelacy*; a distinction without ground or foundation, as I have already shew'd, and will be yet more fully made out.

The main design of Mr. *B.*'s History is 1. To charge the Bishops with all *Schisms*, *Heresies*, *Corruptions*, *&c.* 2. To shew, that *Diocesan Prelacy* and *grandeur is not the Cure, nor ever was*; And to this purpose are level'd all the particulars of his Church-History. In this Chapter I will endeavour to take off the first general Charge. p. 27. §. 7. 4

That some Bishops have abus'd their Office and Authority, and have been the cause of Heresie, or Schism, cannot be deny'd; but Priests, Deacons and Laymen have been so too; and therefore if the miscarriage of any particular man becomes a prejudice to his Office, and the Order must suffer for the personal faults of those that are of it, we must have neither Priests nor Deacons in the Church, since some of them have been Authours of Heresies, *&c.* But this is not all, our Author tho' he speaks indefinitely, that he *will shew the ignorant* (and he must be very ignorant that knows no better) *who have been the cause of Church Corruptions, Heresies, Schisms, Sedition*; yet he means they were the Authors of *all* these evils; as he is pleas'd

to explain himself p. 72. *Next we have a strange thing, a Heresie rais'd by one that was no Bishop*: and then, as if that were impossible, he shews that was no Heresie; and so the Bishops remain under the whole charge of raising all Heresies. I wish he had left *Schism* and *Sedition* out of this charge; for if he can perswade the *Ignoram Readers* that the Bishops were the cause of all these too; they will never be perswaded that any *Presbyterians* are to be found in Church-History. For if they had been in the world, they must have had their share with the Bishops in *Schism* and *Sedition*.

It is a heavy charge, to accuse the Bishops of all the Heresies and Schisms that have afflicted the Church, and if it were true, would go near to stagger the Reverence that one might have for the Order. For though Bishops as well as other men may be subject to Miscarriages, they might be allow'd the frailty of Humane nature, from which no dignity can exempt us; But to be found the cause of *All* the Evils that have befallen the Church, would argue such a malignity in the Constitution, as would shew plainly that God never design'd them for good. But I believe this can be no more prov'd against them by matter of fact, than that Bishops invented Gun-powder, or Hand-Granadoes, or were the Authors of the Scotch Covenant, or the late Rebellion of the Field-Conventiclers in *Scotland*.

Let

Let us then trace the Hereſies and Schiſms that have torn the Church in pieces in ſeveral ages of it, to their firſt original; and examine who were the Authors of them; and if it appear out of Church-Hiſtory that Biſhops rais'd them *All*, or the greateſt part, I will give up the Cauſe, and believe every thing in Mr. *B.*'s Hiſtory; and for penance read over all the fourſcore Books that he tells us he has written.

Where then ſhall we begin? If the Biſhops ſhould be convicted by the firſt Inſtance, it would be ominous: However, becauſe it ſhall appear that I deal impartially, I will begin with the firſt. All Eccleſiaſtical Writers do agree that *Simon Magus* was the Author of the firſt Hereſie in Chriſtian Religion. *Epiphanius* indeed reckons up about a ſcore of Hereſies before this, but they are Heathen or Jewiſh Hereſies; and I hope Mr. *B.* will be ſo kind as to allow that the Biſhops had nothing to do with theſe. *Simon Magus.* *Epiph. Her.* 21.

That *Simon* was a Heretick, all are agreed in, though the Scripture ſay no ſuch thing; and though *Epiphanius* confeſs that his Sect cannot truly be reckon'd among Chriſtians. This man did teach very ſtrange, and, if there be any ſuch, *damnable doctrines.* But that he was a Biſhop no man ever yet affirm'd. *Juſtin Martyr* thought he had ſeen an Inſcription at *Rome* to this *Simon*, which own'd him a God, though it is poſſible this might be a miſtake: But that ever any Wri- *Har.* 22. *p.* 55. *Ed. Pet.*

ting or Tradition called him a Bishop, I have not heard. It is true indeed, he had a great mind to be a Bishop; that is, to have power of Confirmation; and *that every one on whom he should lay his hands should receive the Holy Ghost.*

And he bid fair for it, For he offer'd *Peter* Money (says the Text:) And the Repulse perhaps disgusted him so, that he resolv'd to leave the Communion of the Church, since he could not be a Bishop in it; and it has been the disease of several other Hereticks, to scorn to be any other Member of the body but the Head.

Menander. Epiph. Hær. 22.

The next that *Epiphanius* mentions, is *Menander*; who, as *Irenæus* (and out of him the rest) says, was *Simon Magus* his Disciple, but neither *Irenæus*, nor *Eusebius*, nor *Epiphanius*, nor *Philastrius*, nor *Theodoret*; and in short, no man that has given any account of Hereticks, or any Historian whatsoever that has been yet heard of, has given the least Intimation that he was a Bishop. *Saturninus* and *Basilides* follow next; and neither of them were either Bishops, or of any other Order in the Church, that we can find. The next is the Heresie of the *Nicolaitans*, which is generally fathered upon *Nicolas* the Deacon: *Irenæus* l. 1. c. 27. seems to be positive in this, *Nicolaita autem Magistrum quidem habent Nicolaum unum ex septem qui primi ad Diaconium ab Apostolis Ordinati sunt*, *Nicolas* one of the seven Deacons was the Master of the

Saturninus, Basilides. Iren. l. 1. c. 22, 23. Epiph. Hær. 23, 24. Euseb. l. 4. c. 7. August. Ep. ad Quodlib. Philastr. Hær. 3, 4. Theod. Hær. Fab. l. 1.

Nico-

Nicolaitans; or *at leastwise they look'd upon him as their Master.* *Epiphanius* follows *Irenaus*, and enlarges the story, showing how he was a good man at first, and did contribute much to the futherance of the Gospel; but that afterward the *Devil enter'd into him*: *Philastrius* follows the Authority of *Epiphanius*. But for all this, I believe *Nicolas* the Deacon may be acquitted of this imputation; for there are Witnesses of very good Antiquity that endeavour to Absolve him.

Epiph. Hær. 25.

Philastr. Hær. 5.

Bibl. Patr. M. de la Rigne. T. 4. p. 10.

1. *Ignatius* Interpolated in two several places, warning those he writes to, to have a care of the *Nicolaitans*, calls them ψευδωνύμους, and συκοφάντας, *i.e.* those that falsly call themselves by the name of *Nicolas*, Sycophants and Impostors. The old Latin Interpreter explains this farther, and adds, *Non enim talis fuit Apostolorum Minister Nicolaus.*

Ign. Ep. ad Trall. & Philadelph. Interpol.

Clemens of *Alexandria* is more particular in the Vindication of *Nicolas*, whose name these Gnosticks abus'd to countenance their lewdness; For speaking of that Abominable Sect, he has these words, Τοιοῦτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ φάσκοντες ἑαυτὸς Νικολάῳ ἕπεσθαι ἀπομνημόνευμα τ' ἀνδρὸς φέροντες ἐκ παρατροπῆς τὸ δεῖν παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ψευναῖος κολύειν δεῖν ἐδήλου τὰς τ' ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ τῇ ἀσκήσει ταύτῃ καταμαραίνειν τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ὁρμάς τε καὶ ἐπιθέσεις, *i.e.* They that pretend to be the Followers of *Nicolas* the Deacon, *do pervert a saying of his, that the Flesh must be abus'd, that is kept under: But these Men like*

Clem. Alex. l. 2. Strom. c. 3.

Goats

Goats abandoning themselves to all uncleanness, understand him to permit men to dishonour their bodies by indulging themselves in all their lusts.

Clem. Alex. l. 3. And the same Author in another place gives a more particular vindication of *Nicolas* the Deacon, saying: That *Carpocrates* gave out this story of him, *That he had a comely Wife, and was Jealous of her, for which he was reprehended by the Apostles*: But *Nicolas*, to acquit *himself of this Imputation brought her before them, and offer'd to release her to any other that would marry her*: *and that this action was suitable to his Maxim* which we have mention'd before: Whereupon *Clemens* adds, that the *Nicolaitans*, as they call'd themselves, following this Doctrine and Action of the Deacon ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀβασανίστως, *Rashly and without Examination, give themselves over to all manner of uncleanness*: and then goes on to vindicate *Nicolas*, adding, That *he had understood by Tradition that he always preserv'd his faith to his Wife inviolable; that his children that he had by this Wife, were remarkable for their Chastity, and all dy'd unmarry'd*: And concludes at last, That *this was to be look'd upon as an Instance of Mortification*: and the Words that those Hereticks insisted upon so much, meant nothing else. *Eusebius*, who cites this passage at large, seems to be of the same opinion; and therefore says only that these Hereticks gave out *Nicolas* for the Author of their Doctrine (ἔνοχον) they only *cracked and boasted* that it was so. S. *Austin* speaks with the same

Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 29.

L. de Hæres.

ſame caution with *Euſebius*, and ſays only, *ut perhibetur, permiſiſſe fertur*; though he ſays, *eâ qui vellet uteretur*, it cannot be underſtood of common proſtitution, for *Carpocrates* himſelf ſays γῆμαι, that ſhe might be Married to any body that would have her. *Theodoret* follows *Clemens*, allows this relation about *Nicolas* to be true, and excuſes him, by ſaying that *He did not intend ſeriouſly to be as good as his word, but only to baffle thoſe that accus'd him of Jealouſie*; and at laſt concludes, *From hence they (the Nicolaitans) are manifeſtly convicted to be Impoſtors, and falſly to call themſelves by that name.* *Petavius* does not know what to determine in this caſe, *ſince the Fathers are divided about it*; But I believe one needs not be ſo ſcrupulous: The whole matter depends between the Authorities of *Irenaus* and *Clemens*: *Clemens* is very particular, aud had examin'd the buſineſs it ſeems as far as he could; the other ſpeaks generally, and perhaps look'd no further than the name, nor could he ſo eaſily have an account of them, as *Clemens* could, who liv'd where the ſect was moſt numerous: *Carpocrates* who was the Father of it was an *Alexandrian*. Beſides, the Words of *Irenaus*, if they are examin'd, do not poſitively affirm *Nicolas* to have been the Father of the *Nicolaitans*: *Magiſtrum habent Nicolaum* are the words, which may ſignifie no more than that they hold him to be ſo: If the Greek Copy were extant, it might have given more light; perhaps he

Theodor. l. 3. Hæret. Fabul.

In Epiph.

ſaid

said no more than *Eusebius* does, and the Word might be ἀυχῶν, they boast that he is their Master. I am to beg pardon for this Digression; If it can relieve the Memory of a person whom the Scripture intimates to be a *Man of Honest Report, full of the Holy Ghost, and Wisdom*; I am content to bear the blame of the Impertinence. But however it were, it is some comfort, and enough to my purpose, that he was no Bishop.

Act. 6. 3.

The *Gnosticks* had no Bishop either for their founder or promoter that is yet known: *Carpocrates* was no Diocesan Prelate, but his Sect pretended high, indeed to something more than a Bishop, to an Apostle. They quoted *Matthias* for such another sentence as the *Nicolaitans* did *Nicolas* the Deacon, and would have perswaded the World that they were his Disciples.

Clem. Alex. l. 3.

Clem. Alex. l. 6.

Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Epiphanes, Isidorus, Ptolemaus, Marcus, were they Bishops? What Churches did *Colarbasus*, or *Heracleon*, or *Cerdo* govern? *Marcion* indeed was a Bishops son, but it does not appear that he was of the Clergy; he was Excommunicated by his own Father for a Rape, and when he could not obtain Absolution turn'd Heretick. It were endless to reckon up all the Hereticks that gave names to Sects; they were most of them bred up the Scholars of other Hereticks, and differing in some things from their Masters,

ſters, ſet up for themſelves, and call'd their followers by their own names.

The 39th Chriſtian Sect in *Epiphanius* is that of the *Cathari* or *Puritans*, and theſe are the firſt that we find ſtarted by any of the Clergy.

Novatus an *African* Prieſt began this Sect; I have given his Hiſtory before; and ſhewn how he ſeduced *Novatianus* a *Roman* Prieſt, or at leaſtwiſe joyn'd with him againſt his Biſhop. *Theodotus*, whom St. *Auſtin* calls *Theodotion*, was a learned man indeed, and Orthodox at firſt: and ſo was *Bardeſanes Syrus*; but neither of them was a Biſhop. *Montanus* became the Author of a Hereſie becauſe he could not obtain the higheſt place in the Church; and turn'd down-right Fanatick, ſaying he was the Holy Ghoſt. In ſhort, the firſt Heretick Biſhop that we find is *Paulus Samoſatenus* who ſucceeded *Demetrianus* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch* in the year 262; & who fell into Hereſie in the year 267.

Epiph. Aug. Philaſtr. &c.

Euſeb. in Chron.

His is the 65th Sect in *Epiphanius*, or the 45th Chriſtian Hereſie. This *Paulus* was a very ill man, and taught dangerous opinions, that Chriſt was not God: But though he was really a Heretick, yet he was not the Author of this Hereſie. He is ſaid by *Euſebius* (and the reſt out of him) to have learn'd this from *Artemas*, (as he calls him) or *Artemon*; as alſo from *Theodotus* who began to teach this doctrine, and to gather him a Sect under *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, by whom he was excommunicated.

Euſeb. l. 7. c. 30.

Epiph. &c.

But

But *Paulus Samosatenus* is said to have reviv'd this Heresie: It is true indeed; but *Eusebius* in the place before cited makes it appear, that the Sect of *Artemas*, and *Theodotus* was then in being; For the Council of *Antioch* in their Synodical Epistle sent to several Bishops where they desire them to receive *Domnus*, whom they had made Bishop in the place of *Paulus Samosatenus*, when he should send his Circular Epistles, and then speaking of *Paulus* deridingly, say, *Let him (if he thinks fit) write to* Artemas, *and let those that follow* Artemas *communicate with him if they please.* But the best of it is, that if God permitted a Bishop of so eminent a Church as that of *Antioch* to fall into Heresie, he on the other hand rais'd up Godly and Orthodox Bishops to oppose him, and to vindicate, not only the Christian Religion, but the Order of Episcopacy also which he had dishonour'd. For the Neighbour Bishops assembled in the Second Council of *Antioch* Condemn'd and Depos'd him: *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, being now very old and unfit for Travel, could not be there, but writ to him, says *Theodoret*: *Eusebius* cites the Epistle of this Synod that expressly denys that; saying, that *Dionysius* of *Alexandria had writ to the Council, but had not vouchsafed so much as to salute* Paulus. From which passage *Valesius* concludes that the Letter of *Dionysius* to that Heretick Bishop in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* is forg'd, notwithstanding *Baronius* receives it for genuine.

l. 7. c. 30.

Theod. Her. Fab. l. 1.
Euf. l. 7. c. 30.

Valef. Annot. in Euf. l. 7. c. 30.

Now

Now becauſe Mr. *B.* promiſes to ſhew, not only *Who have been the cauſe of Hereſies*, &c. but alſo *How*; It will not be impertinent to ſhew briefly *how* this Biſhop alſo fell into Hereſie. It was in ſhort by the way of *Comprehenſion*, for *Zenobia* Queen of *Palmyrene* after her Husbands death, being very conſiderable in the Eaſt, and being Proſelyted to the *Jewiſh* Religion, (for which reaſon likely *Longinus* her Favourite ſpeaks ſo favourably of *Moſes*) this *Paul* Biſhop of *Antioch* thought that by reducing Chriſt to be a meer man he might reconcile both Religions, and take away the Partition-wall that divided the Jews and Chriſtians, nothing being ſo great an offence to the Jews as that *Chriſt* was own'd by his Diſciples to be God: And thus compliance and vain projects of Comprehenſion, made this man a Heretick. But *Philaſtrius* is not to be regarded, who charges this Biſhop with *being turn'd Jew, and teaching Circumciſion, and bringing over* Zenobia *to Judaiſm.* *Phil. Her. 17. Ap. Biblioth. Patr.*

Before this time, there is another Biſhop reckon'd by ſome Collectors of Hereſies, as the Author of one; *Nepos* an *Egyptian* Biſhop, who taught out of *the Revelation of St.* John, as he pretended, that the Saints ſhould live a Thouſand years of pleaſure here on Earth. *Nepos. Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 7. Theod. Her. Fab. l. 3.*

If this be a Hereſie, it was much older than this *Nepos*: For it was ſo ancient and ſo general an opinion, that *Juſtin Martyr* did not believe they were perfectly Chriſtians that *Juſt. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 307. Ed. Par.*

that did not believe it. For all that were Orthodox did look for the Restauration of *Jerusalem*, and that *Christ* should reign there gloriously with his Saints a thousand years; which he endeavours to prove out of the *Revelations*, and the Book of the Prophet *Isaiah*. *Irenæus* endeavours to prove the same thing at large, and derives the Doctrine from *Papias*, and by him from St. *John*, the Beloved Apostle. So that if *Nepos* prove Heretick for this, he is like to find very good company, but Author of it he cannot be: It is some favour to him that *Epiphanius* and *Philastrius* pass him by, for I do not remember that either of them mention him: However you will say, that though he was not the first that taught this Doctrine, yet he was the first that divided the Church about it: And that is a heavy fault that Mr. *B.* charges upon the Bishops, that they divide the Church about unnecessary, nice Speculations: But this *Nepos* is as far, if not farther from the Imputation of Schism, than that of Heresie; For *Dionysius* charges him not with Schism, but only with writing a book for the Millenary opinion, which others afterwards laid a great stress upon, and by that means several Churches were divided and some entirely carried away, and all this after *Nepos* his death: They might have done the like with *Justin Martyr*, or *Irenæus* if they had pleas'd, and made the same stir, and yet those Fathers not at all concern'd in the

Iren. l. 5. c. 33, 34, 35.

Schism;

Schism; this is manifestly the present case; there is no account of any Schism made about this point till after this *Nepos* his death; And *Dionysius* who writes against him, thinks himself oblig'd to make his Apology before-hand; saying, that he honour'd the man for many great good qualities, and was sorry that he was forc'd to write against his Brother in the defence of Truth: And as to the matter of fact, it was thus, He found in the Region of *Arsinoe* several Churches distracted about this matter; so that they began to make Schisms in several places: The Bishops surely must be concern'd, where there is any Schism or Heresie, they must have a hand in it: But here by good fortune no such thing appears; here is mention only of Presbyters and Teachers, whom this Bishop assembled; Presbyters of the Villages: and these after some Dispute he at last perswaded to Peace. But what became of the Bishop of that Region will you say? It may be he was dead, and that this *Nepos* was the man; unless one may imagine the Dioceſs of *Alexandria* to extend so far; for the Country adjoyning to the Lake *Mareotes*, and call'd by that name, was part of the *Alexandrian* Dioceſs, as we have shew'd before out of *Athanasius*, and the *Arsinoeites* was the next Region to that: But however this be, our point is sufficiently clear'd, that this *Nepos* was neither Heretick, nor Schismatick: Nor does it appear that any Bishop was con-

Euseb. l. 7.

cern'd in that difference, ſave only *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, who by his Prudence and Authority did compoſe it. To conclude, For the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt there is but one Biſhop found, who was the Author, or rather the Reviver of a Hereſie; and yet Mr. *B.* looks upon it as a ſtrange thing, that there ſhould be *a Hereſie rais'd by one that was No Biſhop.*

The following Ages were not ſo happy; but as Chriſtians generally degenerated, ſo did the Clergy too; but yet not ſo much as our Author would make it appear. The beginning of the fourth Century was very unhappy to the Church; not only by reaſon of a moſt violent Perſecution rais'd againſt it from without, but alſo of Hereſies and Schiſms from within. *Meletius* an *Egyptian* Biſhop, and the firſt of that Order that began a Schiſm, forſook the Communion of the Church, becauſe they that fell from the Faith under Perſecution were receiv'd into it, as *Epiphanius* tells his ſtory; though others of better Authority give other Reaſons, that this Biſhop had himſelf deny'd the Faith; and being condemn'd by a Synod of Biſhops, he ſet up a Schiſm: But of this we have ſaid enough elſewhere.

Meletius.

Epiph.

Athan. Ap. 2.

About the ſame time ſtarted up the Schiſm of the Donatiſts; named ſo from one of their Biſhops, that lived a good while after the riſe of that Faction: this was carried on by evil men that were Biſhops

Donatus.

Aug. de Hæreſ.

ſhops and others: but *Optatus* derives it from two Presbyters, *Botrus* and *Celeuſius*, and one *Lucilla*, a woman of great intereſt, and very whimſical.

But the Sect that moſt afflicted this Age, and divided, almoſt ſubdu'd, all the World, was that of *Arius*. But *Arius* by good providence was no Biſhop, but a Prieſt of *Alexandria*: who taught that Chriſt was not of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, and that he was not Eternal. This Doctrine firſt divided the Church of *Alexandria*, and then all the World, ſome few Biſhops taking his part, but the generality being againſt him. The Original and Occaſion of this Hereſie is variouſly related, though all agree in the Author: *Epiphanius* makes *Meletius* the Schiſmatick to be the firſt diſcoverer: though afterwards his Sect, if not he himſelf, joyn'd with theſe Hereticks; juſt as our Diſſenters joyn Intereſts with the Papiſts to ruine the *Church* of *England*. I would not be ſo bold to ſay it, if Mr. *Baxter*, who knows it much better than I, had not obſerv'd this before: if it be otherwiſe, they muſt be ſatisfy'd by him, who I ſuppoſe may be able to give a good account of that matter. When the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had been inform'd that one of his *Presbyters*, and the Divinity Reader of that City (for ſo *Arius* was) taught dangerous doctrines, *denying*, in effect, *the Lord that bought us*, he calls him to anſwer this charge in the preſence of his Fellow-Presbyters;

Arius.

Hær. 68, 69.

and *Arius* owning his Doctrine was condemn'd. This I should not give so great credit to, upon the word of *Epiphanius* (who is unaccountably mistaken in several things relating to this Heresie) unless the Letter of *Constantine* did confirm it; who blames *Alexander* for proposing this question, which it seems by this story he could not avoid, since this Schismatick (not perhaps out of any good will to the faith, but as is usual with the separating Spirit, to reproach the Church with countenancing Heresie,) had given him notice of this Intolerable Doctrine, and the Industry and Application us'd by *Arius* to promote it: The occasion was the Ambition of the Heretick, who could not endure to see *Alexander* in the Bishops Chair, for which he had been his Competitor, after the death of *Achillas*. *Sandius* impudently affirms (without any proof) that it was after *Achillas* had been put out by *Alexander*: I cannot but warn the Reader against the intolerable dealing of that *Arian* Historian, For he has so little shame as to cite *Sozomen*, and the *Tripartite* History, to prove that *Achillas* was turn'd out by his successour, whereas there is not one word of it there, but on the contrary, the whole story is much to the disadvantage of the *Arian* cause: For there *Arius* is said to envy the promotion of *Alexander*, and to be so impatient as not to live under the tedious expectation of the Bishops death, in probable hopes

Euseb. de vit. Constant. l. 2.

Theod. Hær. Fab. l. 4. c. 1.

Sand. Hist. Eriml. l. 2. p. 159, 160.

Sozom. l. 1. c. 15.

Hist. Tripart. l. 1. c. 12.

of

of ſucceeding him, but to ſeek out any occaſion of quarrel, and then to ſet himſelf up. The paſſage is ſo very plain that it is hardly poſſible to miſtake it, and to apply that to *Alexander*, which is manifeſtly ſaid of *Arius*. The ſame Hiſtorian tells us, that *Achillas* was of the ſame opinion with *Arius*, and refers to the ſame place, but without the leaſt ſhadow of Truth. I ſuppoſe he took *Achillas* the Prieſt, that revolted with *Arius*, to be the ſame with the Biſhop, who he ſays was depos'd, but who was indeed dead before that time. And *Epiphanius* his placing *Achillas* after *Alexander*, is a ſtrange unaccountable miſtake, as divers other things are in his relations of this matter: But let it be as *Epiphanius* ſays, it can give no countenance to *Sandius* his opinion; For this *Achillas* that *Sandius* ſpeaks of had revolted with *Arius*, but he whom *Epiphanius* mentions was Orthodox, and ſet up by that party againſt the *Arians*. In the next place, it is not likely that the *Achillas* that joyn'd with *Arius* was in *Alexandria* when *Alexander* dy'd, for the Council of *Nice* condemn'd *Arius* and his adherents, and the Emperour having baniſh'd him (as ſome ſay) or only forbid him to return to *Alexandria* (as others) the Presbyters of *Alexandria* that joyn'd with him were probably remov'd for quietneſs ſake, at leaſtwiſe, if they did not conform.

Sandius. *Ibid.*

Epiph. Her. 68.

Soer. l. 1. *c.* 6, 8. *Soz. l.* 1. *c.* 21. *Theod. l.* 1.

Laſtly, Though *Achillas* might recant, and remain in *Alexandria*, yet conſidering

the *Arian* party was now condemn'd by all the world, it is not likely that one of the first promoters of it should be chosen Bishop of so eminent a Church; and much less probable, that being chosen he should resign to *Athanasius*, a young man, and but a Deacon; and what is more than all, that one devoted to the cause of *Alexander*, and one of the Champions of it in the Council of *Nice*: What *Sandius* says after this, out of *Philostorgius*: of *Arius* his modesty in preferring *Alexander* to the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, is altogether improbable; not one of all those Historians that give an account of this matter saying any such thing, but several of them the quite contrary. But that *Arian* Historian mistook his Index, and put l. 3. for the first, and the third paragraph, which would not have been an easie mistake if he had look'd into the book that he cited. But to return where we left.

Philost. l. 1. c. 3.

Theod. l. 1. Hist. Ea. id. Heret. Fab. l. 7. Vid. Gotofr. Dissert.

Arius who was the cause of all the mischiefs that follow'd that Controversie, was no Bishop; and his first followers were not Bishops neither: Some Presbyters and Deacons of *Alexandria* first took his part, and two Bishops that call'd themselves so, being of *Meletius* his setting up, and who were indeed no Bishops, as being ordain'd Schismatically. *Arius* when he left *Alexandria* made his Application to several Bishops, and was rejected by most: *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* at last undertook his Protection, and prevail'd with some few more

Socr. l. 1. c. 6. Sozom. l. 1. c. 21.

to

to joyn with him; and the greateſt part (as appears by the Letters ſent to *Alexander*) only out of Moderation, and to endeavour to compoſe the difference between the Heretical Presbyters and their Biſhop. But this way encreaſing the difference inſtead of healing it, a General Council was agreed upon; where there were but ſeventeen Biſhops that ſo much as favour'd the cauſe of *Arius*, and but five that refus'd to ſubſcribe, who were afterwards baniſh'd. Had *Conſtantine* preſerv'd the Rule which that Council had eſtabliſh'd, and not tamper'd with it in compliance with the *Arians*, and by an Indulgence, and comprehenſion, endeavour'd to bring thoſe under a Rule that were enemies to it, and to joyn ſuch doctrines as were Incompetible, there might have been an end of the *Arian* Hereſie; but the Church is never diſtracted more by any thing than projects of Moderation.

And becauſe the calamities that enſu'd upon the *Arian* Controverſie are to be dated from *Conſtantine's* recalling of *Arius*: It is ſome Juſtification of the Biſhops that their authority and credit with the Emperour did not effect it. But it was an *Arian* Prieſt, that inſinuated himſelf into the favour of *Conſtantia*, and by her Interceſſion prevail'd with the Emperour to admit of *Arius* his deluſory Recantation. *Soz. l. 1. c. 25.*

Conſtantius ſucceeding his Father in the Eaſt, and taking part with the *Arians*, it

is no wonder if in a little while they grew uppermoſt, not ſo much by the compliance of the Biſhops with the Inclinations of the Prince, which Mr. *B.*'s charity does ſo often ſuggeſt; as by the violence that was us'd, by depoſing and baniſhing, and killing all thoſe that durſt be active in the defence of the Faith: And what was worſe than all this, by condemning men for other things than their Faith, and ſo taking away from them the reputation of Martyrdom, by accuſing good Biſhops of the moſt heinous crimes, and ſuborning Villains and Strumpets to ſwear the charge; by impoſing upon the ſimpler ſort by plauſible pretences. And ſo at laſt, (as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* expreſſes it) by force and fraud the whole World in a manner was turn'd *Arian*; *partim vi partim fraude factus eſt Arianus*: But of this I have ſaid enough already, to ſhew with what little reaſon or humanity the Biſhops are charg'd with compliance in the caſe of the *Arians*.

Socr. l. 1. c. 28, 29. Sozom. l. 2. c. 25.

The Sects that ſprung out of *Arianiſm* were moſt of them begun by thoſe that were no Biſhops. *Aetius* who thought not *Arius* to blaſpheme enough, and added to his Hereſie further diſparagements and diminutions of the ſon of God, was firſt a Phyſician, and then began to teach Hereſie; afterwards was made Deacon by *Leontius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, an *Arian*, which is the higheſt Degree we find him arrive to in the Church; he was at laſt excommunicated by

Sozom. l. 3. 18. id. l. 5. 12. Socr. l. 2. 29. Philoſt. l. 3.

by the *Arians* themſelves as being too mad for their company.

Eunomius was his Scholar, and his Clerk; bred a Heretick, and by that merit, Hereticks prevailing, he came to be Biſhop. It were well indeed if all Biſhops had the priviledge the Pope pretends to, to be Infallible as ſoon as he is ſet in his Chair. It were well if that Order were a preſervative againſt Hereſie: But ſince it is in vain to hope that, it is no wonder to ſee a Biſhop a Heretick, that was ſo when he was a Lay-man, and brought the ſame diſeaſe along with him into the Office. *Socr. l. 4. c. 7.*

Macedonius his caſe is the very ſame; He was a Heretick long before he was Biſhop; and was for that reaſon choſe by the *Arians* after the death of *Euſebius*, and not after the death of *Alexander*, as *Socrates* and *Sozomen* ſeem to ſay. For at the Synod of *Tyre*, this *Macedonius*, who at the death of *Alexander* was but a Deacon, is ſaid by *Athanaſius* to have been a Presbyter belonging to *Paulus* Biſhop of *C. P.* and to have accuſed his Biſhop; which *Sozomen* likewiſe confirms. He is ſaid to have been recommended together with *Paulus*, by *Alexander* on his death-bed, to the people of *Conſtantinople* for their Biſhop; but the character is not great: *Socrates* ſays only for a *περίσχημα εὐλαβείας, an outward ſhew of gravity*, which *Sandius* takes for true piety, and ſo amends the character: But *Sozomen* ſays that *Alexander* recommended him only for *Vid. Athan. Apol. 2. id. Ep. ad Sol. Socr. l. 2. 6. Sozom. l. 3. c. 3.* *Vid. Valeſ. Obſerv. Eccleſ. ad Socr. & Soz.*

a

a man of buſineſs, and acquainted with the ways of the world.

This man it is likely turn'd *Arian* when he was Prieſt under *Euſebius*, who remov'd from *Nicomedia* to *Conſtantinople*, and by that means ſo ingratiated himſelf to the party, that after the death of that *Arian* Biſhop, that party ſet him up againſt *Paul* who was turn'd out by *Euſebius*.

Theod. Hær. Fab. l. 3.

Epiph. Hær. 77.

Another improver of *Arianiſm*, and leader of a new Sect was *Aerius*; but he was No Biſhop, and for that reaſon turn'd Heretick. For *Euſtathius* and he having been fellow Students, and *Euſtathius* having the better fortune to be preferr'd to a Biſhoprick: This good man, although oblig'd by all the promotion his friend could give him, yet could not be contented; and began to diſparage that Order and Authority of Biſhops, ſince he had not the fortune to arrive at it. This was the *Cartwright* of thoſe times; and the Father of the Presbyterian parity: a Notion brought into the world by the ambitious diſcontents of one, who when he could not be Biſhop himſelf, yet ſcorn'd to ſeem inferiour to any Biſhop.

There is another Diviſion of the *Arians*, mention'd by *Theodoret*, which were call'd *Pſatyriani*, or *Tapſuriani*; who had no Biſhop for their Leader, but one that prepar'd a certain food well reliſh'd in thoſe times; the Criticks are not agreed whether it were Cuſtard or Pudding-Pyes. What this leading man was for a Scholar I cannot learn;

learn; though I believe not inferiour to the *Weavers* and *Plowmen* of *Kedderminſter*, whom Mr. *B.* preferrs before the Ancient Fathers: all that can be ſaid for this man is, that he had too much learning to follow his calling, and nothing would ſerve his turn but mending of Religion. But if I ſhould joyn with him *Theodotus* the *Tanner*, (who liv'd indeed a good while before) Mr. *B.*'s Weavers and Plow-men might be hard put to it, and reconcil'd to their Trades again.

The *Audians* were a Sect ſprung up much about the ſame time with the *Arians*, headed by one *Audius* an *Anthropomorphite*, but no Biſhop, till after he had made this diviſion; and then (as the deſign of all Hereticks generally is,) he was made Biſhop of his Party. *Epiphanius* gives him and his followers a very fair Character: which St. *Auſtin* ſeems to ſuſpect, and obſerves partiality and favour in the Relation. But *Theodoret*, who had moſt reaſon to know them, repreſents this man as a heady fellow, of extravagant conceits, and his followers as great Hypocrites: Theſe it is probable were the *Anthropomorphites* of *Egypt*, that were ſo violent againſt the followers of *Origen*, in *Epiphanius* his time, who he ſays, communicated with the Catholick Church: and for that reaſon it may be, he ſpeaks ſo favourably of them. *Epiph. Hær.* 70. *Ep. ad Quodvult. de Hæreſ.* *Theod. Hær. Fab. l.* 4.

The Errours of *Origen*, as they were pertinaciouſly maintain'd by the Monks of *Nitria*, became a Hereſie; but the Biſhops had no

no hand but in condemning those gross mistakes; and when the Monks began to mutiny, and raise tumults about them, threaten to kill the Bishop, and when they grew insupportably troublesome; then they were banish'd for quietness and peace sake: Of these we have spoken more particularly elsewhere.

It was not long before this, that the *Priscillianists* sprang up in the West, a Sect made up of a mixture of *Manichees* and *Gnosticks*. It was a lewd infamous Heresie: But the Author of it was no Bishop. For whether we trace the original of it to *Egypt*, and to that *Marcus* who first brought it to the West; It does not appear that he was so much as a Clergy-man. *Priscillianus*, his Scholar, who gave name to the Sect, was a Lay-man when he was condemn'd in the Council of *Saragossa*. There are two Bishops indeed that are condemn'd by the same Council: but such as were drawn in by the fair pretences of *Priscillianus*, and accessories only to his crime, but he that gave them the name is call'd by the same Author *Princeps Malorum*: whom after he was condemn'd, those of his party, to give greater credit to their cause, made Bishop of *Abila*: But Mr. *B.* on this occasion does not find fault with the Bishops as Authors or promoters of this Heresie, but for calling the civil Sword to their assistance, and procuring great severities to be us'd towards the Authors of it.

Sever. l. 2. in fin.

The

The *Pelagian* Hereſie had no Biſhop either for its Author or Promoter; *Pelagius* who gave it its name and being, was a Monk; and *Julianus* and *Cœleſtius* his Diſciples were never Biſhops: or if this Hereſie be deriv'd from *Ruffinus*, *Jovinian*, *Evagrius*, *Ponticus*, or laſtly from *Origen*, as St. *Jerome* derives its Pedigree; It is evident that Biſhops had no hand in it; none of theſe being Biſhops, but moſt, if not all of them Presbyters. *Aug. Her.* 88. *Hieron. in Jerem. l. 4. præf.*

Neſtorius who gave the name to a Hereſie, was not the firſt Author of it, as I have ſhew'd before, but fell into it by engaging himſelf in the defence of *Anaſtaſius* his Presbyter, who firſt preach'd down Θεοτόκος; but as to Hereſie Mr. *B.* does acquit him.

Eutyches was a Monk, and impos'd upon the Council of *Epheſus*, as we have ſhew'd before; or they conniv'd at his errours, and were not willing to examine his doctrine to the bottom, for reaſons before mention'd. This Hereſie was preſerv'd chiefly among the Eaſtern Monks, who made ſuch fearful diſturbances about it after the Council of *Chalcedon*.

Petrus Fullo, who invaded the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, was indeed a great promoter of *Eutychianiſm*, and a very wicked troubleſome man; but the comfort is, he was a Heretick long before: For being a Prieſt of the Church of *Chalcedon*, he was put out for his crimes, or as others ſay more expreſly, for *Theod. Lect. Coll. l. 1.*

Liberat. in Breviar. c. 18. for Hereſie; which *Liberatus* ſufficientiy diſcovers, when he tells us, that this perſon ſeiz'd upon the Biſhoprick of *Antioch, per viliſſimum populum & Hæreticum.* His Hereſie was the thing that recommended him to the Rabble that made him a Biſhop.

Alex. Ser. de S. Barn.

The *Eutychians* in the Eaſt were reviv'd or new-modell'd by one *Jacobus Zanzalus*, no Biſhop, but an obſcure mean man, ἄδοξος, καὶ ἀφυὴς τὰς, ſays *Nicephorus*, upon which account he was call'd *Zanzalus*, that is, a pitiful, mean fellow. *Matthew Paris* gives a more particular account of him, which is lyable to ſeveral exceptions, which it is not neceſſary to urge in this place.

Niceph. l. 18. c. 52. In Hær. 3. Maxim. cum Diſput. Pirrho & Theod. An. 633.

The Hereſie of the *Monothelites*, though an unavoidable conſequence of *Eutyches* his Doctrine, yet it is generally father'd upon *Cyrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*: *Sergius* of C. P. *Cyrus* Biſhop of *Phaſis*, and *Theodorus Pharanatarius*. *Baronius* lays it moſtly upon the firſt, and ſhews how he came to fall into this miſtake; he had a charitable deſign of uniting the Diviſions of the Church, by deviſing ſome project that ſhould comprehend all parties: he thought *one Will*, and *one Operation* would not be ſo harſh, as *one Nature*, which had been for ſo long time the ſubject of Contention. But with the ſame ſucceſs that uſually all ſuch deſigns have: when the Rule is changed, the Church is immediately all to pieces, and thoſe that were united under that Rule divide into parties and factions; which will hardly ever unite again.

Now

Now becauſe in the following ages of the Church the Devil had another game to play, and ſtarted up but few Hereſies until theſe laſt ages; let us ſee what ſort of men the Authors of them have been. The *Swenkfeldians*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Mennoniſts*, *The Family of Love*, *Quakers*, *Ranters*, and the reſt of the Modern Sects; did theſe derive themſelves from any Biſhops? *Servetus* (whom the Miniſters of *Swiſſerland* proſecuted as far or further than *Idacius* ever did the *Priſcillianiſts*) was he a Biſhop? *Socinus* was he a Prelate? or the *Racovian* Divines, were they a Council of Biſhops? how then comes it to be ſo great a wonder as our Author profeſſes it to be, *that a Hereſie ſhould be rais'd by one* that was *No Biſhop?* It is much a greater wonder that any one that makes Conſcience of what he ſays, ſhould againſt all truth of Hiſtory, and againſt his own knowledge, charge the Biſhops with all the Hereſies in the World; that a perſon that ſeems to be ſo ſenſible of approaching judgement, as frequently to put himſelf in mind of it in his Writings, and even force the belief of good charitable men by ſuch profeſſions of Sincerity; ſhould yet advance ſo malicious and ſo groundleſs an Accuſation. There is no dallying with the all-ſeeing God; and if every idle word will be accounted for, what plea ſhall be made for whole books full of Calumny and Detraction? What for blaſting the memory of ſo many Holy men for ought he knows that are dead?

dead? What for aſperſing ſo many faithful Servants of God, for ought he knows, that are living? What for defaming the whole Order from which he receiv'd his Miniſtry? and to which he owes Honour and Subjection, as he will ſurely find in that day when he comes to give account of all the hard things that he has written againſt it.

But if you would have the True Cauſes of Schiſm, Hereſie, *&c.* You muſt not look upon this or that Order of Men, but go up to the firſt Original of ſuch things. Theſe Miſchiefs, as all other diſturbances of the World, proceed *from our Luſts which war in our Members:* and do not flow from any particular Inſtitution or Order, but from the General Corruption of Humane Nature; by which means all conditions, and degrees of men, have had the misfortune to have ſome that have been wicked and infamous. The Apoſtles had a *Judas*, the Biſhops a *Paulus Samoſatenus*, the Presbyters a *Novatus* and an *Arius*, the Deacons an *Aetius*: and in ſhort there is no Office in the World, Sacred or Civil, but has been in the poſſeſſion of infamous perſons, who have been a reproach and ſcandal to it.

Now although the paſſions of men move them to be troubleſome in any State or Circumſtances, yet there are ſome that qualifie them more for Miſchief, and others that diſpoſe them for it: There may be many wicked men that might be willing enough to make a diſturbance, but they may want parts

parts and Abilities for the work. Any man may pretend to a wicked opinion, but every one cannot recommend it to others; and there are few that care for being Hereticks by themſelves; But where Malice and an evil temper has the advantage of Natural and acquir'd endowments, like Sulphur and Salt peter, it does not only preſently take fire, but has likewiſe an extraordinary force and capacity to deſtroy. It is obſerv'd by ſome of the Fathers that moſt of the *Hæreſiarchæ*, the Authours of Hereſies or Sects, were men of great wit and accutneſs in Reaſoning, *Non Enim putetis Fratres, potuiſſe fieri Hæreſes per parvas quaſdam animas, non fecerunt Hæreſes niſi Magni Homines:* "Do not think that Hereſies were "firſt rais'd by ordinary, mean perſons; "they were great men that ſet them up: and within the ſame page he mentions ſeveral of them conſiderable men. *Aug. Com. in Pſalm.*

The ſame Obſervation St. *Hierom* makes. *Nullus enim poteſt Hæreſim ſtruere niſi qui Ardentis Ingenii eſt, & habet dona naturæ quæ à Deo Artifice ſunt Creata.* Talis Valentinus, *talis* Marcion, *quos* Doctiſſimos *legimus*: *Talis* Bardeſanes, *cujus etiam Philoſophi admirantur Ingenium*: None but men of Great Parts are able to ſet up a Hereſie: *Valentinus* and *Marcion* we find were very learned men, and *Bardeſanes* was admired even by Philoſophers. *Vincentius Lirinenſis* amplifies upon this ſubject with great art and paſſion; he tells the great endowments of *Hieron. Com. in Oſi. c. 9.*

such as rais'd Heresies, and reckons up particularly all the advantages they had to recommend themselves and their Doctrine; and at last concludes they were a mighty Temptation, enough almost to stagger the most confirm'd Orthodox Believer: alluding I suppose to that of the Apostle that *there must be Heresies, that* (by that tryal or Temptation) *they who are approved might be made manifest*. It was a Question that puzzl'd the most understanding Heathen I think that ever was, how God should ever bestow Reason and wit upon such men as he foresaw would make use of the gifts against the Donor: This Christian Religion renders more easie, when it shews us the end of this permission, the manifestation of those that are approv'd.

Vincent. Lir. adv. Hæres.

Cicer.

Now though these Qualifications of Malice and Wit where they are met in the same person, do dispose and fit him for Disturbances, yet he seldom breaks out into any extremity before some outward occasion of Discontent does inflame him. There is indeed a Temper that no Fortune, no Honours, can content, and render easy to it self, or restrain from disturbing the world; but this extravagancy is not Common; and the Generality of men, though not very quiet or peaceable in their Dispositions, yet when they have gain'd their point; and are possess'd of wealth, and honour, they are commonly willing to secure the enjoyment of those Possessions, by letting things run in the ordinary

nary course: But if one of these men happens to labour under repulse and disappointments, his patience is soon at an end. Upon this account many of the Inferiour Clergy that have stood in Competition for a Bishoprick and lost it, have broken off all Communion with their Bishops whose Competitors they were; so *Novatianus*, and several others became Hereticks: sometimes growing impatient with waiting for the Death of their Bishop, they have revolted against him, and drawn the People after them, Thus *Arius* and *Macedonius* became the heads of Sects; sometimes despair of Promotion after long waiting, and envy against those they saw preferr'd before them hath carri'd away unsteaddy men, to set up for singularity, and to make new Sects. Thus *Aetius* Separated from the *Arians*, and taught new Blasphemies of his own. Sometimes vain men have been carri'd away with the applause and favour of the people (that flock'd after them and throng'd their Churches) to set up themselves against their Bishop upon presumption of greater interest in the people. This St. *Austin* makes a principal cause of Heresies. *Sic enim fiunt Hæreses & schismata, cum dicit plebs carnalis, quæ in charitate dei fundata non est, Ibo post Amatores meos, cum quibus utique sive per fidei Corruptionem, sive per elationem superbiæ turpiter fornicantur*: Heresies and Schisms are caused by giddy People that have itching Ears, and run after such

Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat. prop. fin.

Teachers as they fanſie. There is no doubt but theſe pretended *greater Edification*, for an excuſe of their Curioſity: Yet this good Biſhop did not like the reaſon, and makes it the cauſe of all the miſchiefs that befel the Church. Nay the Apoſtle expreſſes no ſmall diſlike of thoſe that *heap themſelves Teachers, having Itching Ears*. Were that great Apoſtle and that Great Biſhop alive now, what would they ſay, when they ſhould hear men renounce all order and rule, and profeſs to follow their fancy, under the notion of *greater Edification*? Yet this I muſt obſerve farther, that how good ſoever the argument may be for ſeparation; It ſounds not well from the Teachers whoſe Commendation is involv'd in the reaſon, They might ſurely give the People leave to ſay it, and that might have ſav'd their Modeſty without loſing the argument.

To Conclude this Point: Almoſt all the Hereſies and Schiſms that have diſtracted the Church, have been no other than ſo many defections of the Diſcontented part of the Clergy, and the more pragmatical part of the Laity from their Rightful Biſhop. *Non aliundè Hæreſes obortæ ſunt, aut nata ſunt Schiſmata quam inde quod Sacerdoti non Obtemperatur*; Schiſms and Hereſies ſpring from no other cauſe than diſobedience to the Biſhop: *Inde Hæreſes obortæ ſunt, dum Epiſcopus qui unus eſt, Contemnitur*: All the diſturbance of the Church is purely for want of obſerving that Precept of the

Cyp. Ep. 55

Ep. 69.

the Apoſtle; *Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves, for they Watch for your ſouls, as they that muſt give account*: *i. e.* Obey thoſe that are Rightfully over you, and ſubmit to them, not chooſing your ſelves new Teachers, and running after your own fancy: Which *Ignatius* ſeems to paraphraſe as he is cited by *Antiochus*. "Let "the people aſſemble where the Biſhop is "preſent. The ſheep ought not to go wan- "dering whither they pleaſe, but as the "Shepherd leads them. The people ought "to follow the directions of their Biſhop, "and conclude what he orders to be moſt "pleaſing to God. And ſurely any one would think this the ſecureſt courſe; Thoſe that ſeduce the people into Faction, they may have intereſts of their own to ſerve by making a breach and a diſturbance: but all that love peace ſhould ſurely cleave to their Biſhop: For his intereſt as well as duty oblige him to maintain peace and Unity; for he is unavoidably a loſer by the Quarrel, and cannot rationally be ſuppos'd to have any deſign but to preſerve things as they are: But the Pretences of others though never ſo plauſible are to be ſuſpected of deſign, where the ſeparation is manifeſtly to the prejudice of the people as well as of the Biſhop; and to the advantage of him only that perſwades it.

Heb. 13. 17.

Epiſt. Smyr.

Now as the Biſhops are under the leaſt Temptation to make a diſturbance (and what Governour will raiſe a Sedition againſt himſelf?)

ſelf?) ſo in fact likewiſe they are found to be very few, that being Biſhops have rais'd any Hereſie or Schiſm. Let any man conſult the Catalogues of Ancient Hereſies: and Compute how many of the 60 reckon'd by *Epiphanius*, or of the 88. of St. *Auſtin*, or of the greater number of *Philaſtius*, and the more confus'd account of *Theodoret*; How many of them I ſay were Biſhops when they turn'd Hereticks, and he ſhall find very few if any one in all thoſe numbers. But if any after they had Debauch'd the people from their Rightful Paſtors, were by ſubreption made Biſhops of their Party, They were never look'd upon as Biſhops but only as heads of a Faction. So that I believe the reader may by this time eaſily perceive what truth there is in Mr. *B.*'s General Charge, that the Biſhops were the cauſes of the Hereſie, and Schiſm, and that it was ſo wonderful a thing that a Hereſie ſhould be begun by one that was no Biſhop.

Beſides this charge of Hereſie and Schiſm, Mr. *B.* accuſes the Biſhops of having been the cauſe of Church corruptions, and Sedition: As to the firſt, if he means that the Biſhops firſt introduc'd theſe corruptions into the Church, I believe he will be never able to prove it: as to the latter we ſhall examine it in due place.

The Corruptions of Chriſtian Religion whether in Doctrine or Worſhip, have crept unperceivably into the Church; and by ſuch degrees, that it is a hard matter to trace

ace their Original, and we are so far from knowing the first Authors of them, that we are ignorant even of the age wherein some of them were introduc'd. Mr. *B.* charges confidently, but proves nothing: But the most probable conjecture I think can be made of the rise and Progress of these, is, 1. That most of the corruptions in Doctrine crept in together with the Heathen Philosophy: For great Philosophers especially the followers of *Plato* turning Christians, still retain'd something of their former Notions, which not appearing to be any way prejudicial to Christianity; but on the Contrary rendering it more acceptable to the wiser part of Heathens, were by degrees own'd among the more learned sort, in their Disputations with Heathens, and pass'd without contradiction: But afterwards busie men building farther consequences upon this foundation, Improv'd the corruption, till at last it grew Gross and intolerable. Hence came the Invocation of Saints, and Angels, and the opinion of their knowledge of Humane affairs. Hence Prayer for the Dead, and the opinion of Purgatory; Hence proceeded many other curious Questions about the nature of God and his Attributes, of the Fatal determination of events, of free-will and the like. And as to the more sordid, superstitious corruptions in Worship. If any one sort of men are to be charg'd with them, I believe the Monks will bid fairest; The Cross, and Reliques, that came first from *Judea*, are

Plat. Pol. l. 5. Orig. adv. Cels. l. 8. Hieron. descript Eccl. in Orig. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 12. Virg. Georg. 6. Somn. Scip. &c.

Paulin Ep. ad. Sulp. Severr.

owing as far a I can obſerve to *Melania* and her Monks; and I do believe the ſtory of the finding of the Croſs is of no ancienter ſtanding. Who has fill'd all the world with fictitious Reliques, and fabulous Revelations concerning them? Who Debauch'd the reaſon and common ſenſe of men by their fulſome Legends and fictions of Miracles? By whoſe means in ſhort, had Superſtition overſpread the face of the Chriſtian world? Were not the Monks the manifeſt Authors and Promoters of all this? Superſtition was born and brought up firſt in Monaſteries, and as Monks came into the Church, they brought it along with them, and the opinion the people had of the piety of theſe Retir'd men, made every thing current that they advanc'd? What ſo devoted Inſtruments had the Papal uſurpation, as the Monks, that pretended exemption from the juriſdiction of their Biſhops, and ſubjected the Epiſcopal Authority to it. And for Tranſubſtantiation, though the Groſſneſs of the conceit were enough to prove it Monkiſh; yet beſides, it is found by matter of fact to be theirs, *Paſchaſius Radbertus* being the firſt that broach'd this Doctrine. All this that I have but juſt mentioned in the General may be made out by a deduction of the riſe and Progreſs of Superſtition; but a particular account would exceed too much the Proportion of this book. This I muſt add, that the Biſhops who are charg'd with theſe Corruptions by Mr. *B.* were the only oppoſers

poſers of them that we find in Antiquity: as we may ſee in the Canons of the *African* Church, and that of *Spain*, and other Countreys. The firſt Picture we read of in a Chriſtian Church was torn in pieces by *Epiphanius* a Biſhop: the firſt Councils about Images condemn'd the Idolatrous uſe of them with great zeal, but at laſt ſuperſtition being ſtill advanc'd by the Popularity of the Monks, and the ignorance of the Age, and ſome of the Emperors joyning with them, prevail'd againſt the Biſhops: and ſo Idolatry was brought for a help to Chriſtian Devotion; And if at laſt the Biſhops joyn'd in the ſuperſtitions, it is no more a wonder, than that they were engag'd in Hereſie. For when any number of people are corrupted, whether with ſuperſtition or falſe Doctrine, they will find Teachers to their own mind, not that their Biſhops will comply with every popular wind of doctrine, but becauſe men will make themſelves Paſtors after their own hearts: and as long as there is a Heretick or an Ambitious man who will be any thing for applauſe, or preferment, they will never want Biſhops and heads of their faction; or if the Clergy have no *Judas*, they will find Teachers amongſt themſelves, aud give them what Titles they pleaſe.

The laſt branch of the Charge is *Sedition*, and this is as grievous as any of the other. Suppoſe the matter of fact in the firſt place true, that ſeveral Biſhops had been Seditious: does this proceed from their Conſtitution,

tution, or any Principle the Bishops maintain, that is inconsistent with the people where they live? This I suppose cannot be pretended. Or is Diocesan Episcopacy such an enemy to the peace of the Government? We have had the experience of it for many ages, and find but few that were so troublesome. But because as the case stands now, we are to reckon only since the Reformation (for if a man be not blind he may see that this worshipful Church History is only design'd against Protestant Bishops under a general name) They I suppose will receive ample Testimony from the Government, of their faithfulness and Loyalty: How many acts of Oblivion have been made for Bishops and their Party? Where were they seen encouraging Rebels against their Prince with the hopes of Salvation? What Reign have they disturb'd here with their Seditions? or whose Government were they enemies to, unless it were that of a *Rebellious piece* of a *Parliament*, and *Oliver Cromwel*, and his Son, the *David* and *Solomon* of Mr. *Baxter*? But *Loyalty* has hitherto been the greatest crime of our Bishops; and long may they continue to *fear God and the King*, more than the Insolence of any faction; and I pray God they may always preserve Inviolable that great Treasure committed to them, and the greatest next that of the Faith: the honour of the most Loyal Church in the World.

Now

Now although the Biſhops of the Church of *England* ſince the Reformation need no defence in this particular, the merit of their Loyalty being ſo well known; and what other Biſhops may do, does not concern us; yet becauſe in this Treatiſe I have undertaken the defence of the Primitive Church, and by conſequence of our own, it will be neceſſary to add ſomething upon this ſubject, by way of anſwer to ſuch particulars as Mr. *B.* has brought together to ſhew the ſeditious Practices of the Biſhops.

The firſt thing he takes to task, is an old Maxim of King *James*, *no Biſhop no King*: which is repreſented here as if the Biſhops were the Authors of it: *and if the Presbyterian, had ſay'd no* Prebyters no King: *you would have taken it for Treaſonable, as if they had threatned that the King ſhall not be King unleſs they may have their way, and ſhall not the King be King unleſs you may be Biſhops?* It is well for the Biſhops that none of them was Author of that Dangerous ſaying; elſe I perceive it might bear an impeachment, and prove by little management at leaſt *Conſtructive Treaſon*, but the Authority of a King may excuſe him of Treaſon againſt himſelf, though the Scotch Presbyterians have declared him a Traytor to *Jeſus Chriſt* and the Holy Kirk: And ſurely that King had ſome reaſon to ſay it, for it is not likely he ſhould paſs ſuch a complement upon the Biſhops, and make them ſo neceſſary to Monarchy, if he had not found ſome great ſuit-

Treatiſe of Epiſcop. part. 1. c. 22.

ſuitableneſs in this Church government to that of the State. The truth is that ſaying of King *James* was the Reſult of a long experience, of a Turbulent, Seditious, ungovernable Presbytery in *Scotland*: and how little he was a King while he was among them the Hiſtorians of thoſe times as *Spotſwood*, *Johnſton*, and others do ſufficiently ſhew: Or if you would have a more particular deſcription of the Inſolencies, and enchroachments of that Presbyterian Clergy, look into the *Burden of Iſſcahar*, and you will ſoon find reaſon enough for this Maxim. But Mr. *B.* goes about gravely to Confute this, as *an affected fiction without proof*. For 1. *Heathen Emperors were without Biſhops*: 2. follows the inſinuation of Treaſon. 3. *What is in the nature of the Thing to Warrant this aſſertion? They owne every Text and Article for Monarchy as well as Prelacy*, &c. *and the ſame reaſon* Holland *and* Venice *muſt have no Biſhops*. Would not a man wonder, that any one ſhould make ſo great a ſtir about ſuch a little ſaying? Suppoſe it is not abſolutely impoſſible but Kings may be without Biſhops or Presbyters either, what then? Why then King *James* was miſtaken in his Politicks: when he ſaid *No Biſhop no King*. There is no neceſſity of that neither: for all Maxims in Morality and Policy are not to be uſed ſo unmercifully as to be judged according to the rigour of the letter. He ſpoke this with regard to his own experience, and his own caſe; and the Anti-Epiſcopal men made his words good,

b. H. p. 2. c. 22.

good, by deſtroying Biſhops firſt, and the King after: when this or that ſort of men is made either neceſſary or deſtructive to government; the meaning is, that either their Principles or Practices, or intereſt, do either ſupport, and aſſure, or elſe overthrow and endanger the State: and that their practices upon all occaſions are generally ſuitable to their principles. This will be clearer by theſe inſtances: Popery is generally look'd upon as a Religion deſtructive of Civil power, and not without reaſon. Muſt there therefore be no government where there is Popery? The Kingdoms of *France*, *Spain*, and *Poland*, and ſeveral other Countreys do manifeſt the contrary. The *Jeſuits* are look'd upon as the great Incendiarys of the world, and that no place can be at peace where they have any influence: and yet they are entertain'd in all Popiſh Countries: Is the general charge therefore of Sedition againſt theſe falſe and groundleſs? No ſuch matter. Suppoſe then among Chriſtians one ſhould ſay with regard to us, *no Proteſtants no King*. I ſuppoſe there would be no ſuch mighty abſurdity in it. Therefore if the Principles of thoſe that were Anti-Epiſcopal, were look'd upon by that wiſe King as Anti-Monarchical too: and the Doctrine of the Biſhops was much more ſafe to the Government; it was ground enough for the ſaying. And now to vindicate thoſe Primitive Biſhops from the imputation of Sedition, that he has charg'd in this chapter

with disturbing the Church and the world.

The first thing Mr. *B.* lays to the charge of Bishops is the Usurpation of Popish Prelacy: *Do you not know*, saith he, *that where Prelacy is at the highest, there Kings and Emperors have been at the lowest? Do you not know, how the Papal Prelacy at present usurpeth one part of their Government, and is ready to take away the other when ever Kings displease them?* &c. Is it the Bishop or the Papist that is here to blame? Is this the effect of their Order, or of those pernicious principles they have inbib'd? If it was the fault of the Bishops, then we must find the same practice in other Ages; or if the Popish Bishops are dangerous to Government, are their Presbyters less to be fear'd? The *Jesuits* before our Civil Wars us'd all the interest they had to prevent sending of Popish Bishops into *England*. It was not I suppose out of any great affection to us, or regard to the Peace of the Kingdom, but because they thought Bishops unnecessary, since Priests and *Jesuits* could do more mischief without them. But the same reason that renders Popish Priests and Bishops so dangerous to Government, renders the Presbyterians so too: But first let us examine Mr. *B.*'s instances of more ancient Episcopal Sedition.

The first is at *Alexandria* in the time of *Theophilus* and *Cyril*, which I have consider'd already. I need say no more here than, 1. That the *Alexandrians* of all the people in the world were the most infamous for

Sedition,

Sedition, even before they ever had any Biſhops. 2. That their Biſhops did never give any countenance or encouragement to their Sedition. The next is the combuſtion in *Conſtantinople* about *Chryſoſtom*, where *Theophilus* and *Epiphanius* were concern'd. To this I Anſwer, 1. That theſe Biſhops were indeed the occaſion, but never intended this tumult, or gave their party any incouragement to make this diſturbance. 2. That what they did, although it was very unjuſt, yet it was not done againſt the civil Government, but in complyance with the Emperour. 3. That thoſe who began this mutiny were ſuch as favoured *Chryſoſtom*, but did it againſt his will, and againſt all his intreaties and obſervations to the contrary: for he conveyed himſelf away firſt of all privately to prevent a mutiny: and in the whole buſineſs he behaved himſelf ſo as to indeavour by all means to prevent any miſchief. He ſaw the civil power was wrongfully againſt him, and he would not contend, but indeavoured to ſteal away to prevent contention.

The ſtory of *Theophilus* his charging *Iſidore* with double Letters, that whoever was Conqueror, he might apply himſelf to him in his name, is of the ſame piece with the reſt of *Socrates* his ſtory concerning that Biſhop; and in all probability an invention of one of the Monks of *Nitria*. He would never have diſobliged that man afterwards after ſuch a manner, that he had intruſted with

with such a secret. Upon this Mr. *B.* makes a great outcry: *What would have been said of one of us now, if we had not only complyed with a victorious Tyrant, but also juggled with presents and double Letters before hand: I did my self disown* Oliver Cromwel *openly to his death*: So did *John Lilburn*, So did the *Levellers*. So did the *Presbyterians*, as far as they durst, and none of these out of any great affection to their Prince: but because they saw things run against their inclination: and these had the same quarrel against *Cromwel* they had before against the King: *i. e.* they could not indure to see the power in any other hands than their own. But whatever Mr. *B.* had with *Cromwel to his death*: It seems he generously forgets it after his death. And compares the most barbarous villain in the World to King *David* in his Epistle to his Son. But as for his owning his Son *Richard Cromwel*, because it was given out that he was a *Cavalier in his heart*, will surely find excuse as far as it finds belief.

The next thing is the Bishops too sudden owning the Barbarian Conquerors. *Do I need to recite* (sayes Mr. *B.*) *how great* Leo *himself and other Roman and Italian Bishops, owned the Barbarian Conquerors? No wonder then if they too early took* Theodoricus *for their King, set over them by God, who was a better man than the rest, and had at last a better Title.* The truth is, it is not *necessary* for you *to recite* this at all: because I think their lyes no necessity upon any man to re-

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cite that which is not true. For how I pray did great *Leo* himſelf own the Barbarian Conqueror? Or who were thoſe that he owned? *Theodoricus*? But *Leo* was dead a long while before, in the year 461. as *Baronius*; or the year before, as the Chronicle of *Marcellinus* fixes it: whereas *Theodoricus* did not invade *Italy* till the year 490: Was it *Attila* that he owned? He was indeed a Barbarian Conqueror in *Leo*'s time: But how did he own him? *Attilas*, when he had laid all *Italy* waſt, and was come with his Army before *Rome*, this Biſhop is ſaid to have gone out to him: *Miſſu* Valentiniani *Imperatoris*, ſent by the Emperor, and prevailed with him to raiſe the Seige and leave *Italy*. If this be owning Barbarian Conquerors, they were very unreaſonable that would find fault. So *Lupus Trecaſſenſis*, *Euſebius* of *Milan*, *Severinus*, and ſeveral other Biſhops of that time, prevailed with ſeveral of thoſe Barbarous Conquerors, to uſe their victory with moderation; and by their interceſſion ſaved the lives and fortunes of many thouſands, But that they flattered theſe Kings, or approv'd of their Titles, we do not find. But however *Leo* may eſcape, the *Italian* Biſhops *too early took* Theodoricus *for their King*. How does Mr. *B.* conclude that it was *too early*. Had they then any rightful Emperour whoſe cauſe they might maintain againſt this Uſurper? the Weſtern Empire was now extinct, and not ſo much as the Title

Vid. *Baron. ad An.* 461.

Suid Caſſiod. Chron.

remain'd after *Auguſtulus*: *Odoacer* had no Title but his Sword, and the poſſeſſion of 13 or 14 years. The Eaſtern Emperor, if he had any right, he had given it to *Theodoricus*, whom he adopted, and ſent into *Italy* to drive *Odoacer* out thence? So that if Conqueſt; or reſignation can give a Title, this King had a ſufficient one. And beſides all this, the Weſtern Empire was at that time in ſuch a confuſion, what by factions within themſelves, what by invaſion of Strangers, that it was a very hard matter to know who had the right; there being no Law of Succeſſion eſtabliſhed, and *Theodoſius* his line being extinct. So that this is no parallel with our late Rebellion, when there was a lawful King, of ancient deſent, whoſe right did not depend upon any election of the people: to raiſe War againſt ſuch a one, and to put him to death, and own the fact, and extol the barbarous Uſurper, is ſuch an inſtance not to be parallel'd by any Nation, and ſuch as no Chriſtian Sect or Profeſſion, out of Popery could have own'd or juſtified, but that of our tender conſcience *Loyal Proteſtant Diſſenters*.

Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 57. adamplian-dum honorem ejus, in arma ſibi ſumiſſilium adoptavit &c. Annuit quæ poſcebat, dimiſit ei populum & ſenatum commendans Romanum.

In the next place we have the ſtory of *Theophilus* and the Monks of *Nitria*; which no reaſonable man can believe as it is related by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, without loving a malicious lye. The reaſons I have given in another place, and do not think it very convenient to repeat them as often as Mr. *B.* does the ſtory: But this is added by way of

of obſervation. *Did ever Presbyterians commit ſuch an Unchriſtian, Inhuman villany as this, by ſuch falſe diſſimulation and Malice?* Yes much more, by the Covenant. Who preached up Rebellion under pretence of Religion? And deſtroyed the King under pretence of fighting for him? Who ſold their Maſter when they had promiſed to protect him? Were not theſe *Presbyterians*? But becauſe Mr. *B.* ſeems now to have gone over to the *Independents*, he knows much worſe can be ſaid of them. I am entred upon this much againſt my inclination, being forc'd upon it by the confidence of our Author, than which nothing can be more provoking; *quis tulerit Gracchos de Seditione querentes.*

The next inſtance is that of *Euſebius Samoſatenus*, who when *Valens* his Officer had brought him an Order for his Baniſhment, tells him, *If the people ſhould know it, they would drown him in the river* Euphrates: *What would they ſay if our Churches were ſuch, as this Orthodox Epiſcopal Church was?* What ever they would ſay of the people, they muſt needs commend your Miniſters. But the caſe is very much alter'd. Here a Biſhop leaves his people, rather than occaſion any diſorder: With you the Paſtors perſwade the people that notwithſtanding all the laws to the contrary, they muſt not deſert their Paſtors. Here the People were incenſed with the apprehenſion of *Arianiſm*, which overthrew the Foundation of the Faith; with *Theod. l. 4. c. 13.*

you there is no such reason, since you all confess we are agreed in the Substantials of Religion, and yet the Teachers press their Congregations to stand by them against the Government. Here a good Bishop would not be prevailed upon by any intreaties to return against the Emperors command, to the manifest endangering of the publick peace; and desire them to have patience, and submit to Authority: The *Presbyterians* Teachers when they had opportunity, did inflame the people against the Government, and by their seditious preaching kindled the late Rebellion. What would we say then, if you were like this Church of *Samosata*, that lov-ded their Bishop, and would be govern'd by him, and take his advice when he dissw-ed them from tumult and sedition? We would say then that, tho' the first heats were not warantable, yet that you would be much better than you are, and the Government could be much more secure of you than it is.

Mr. *B.* pursues this instance farther, and adds, *When the Emperors Arian Bishop was set over them, not one of all the people would come to the Church as they were used to do: Would not wash in the same water*, &c. *do our hearers deal as harshly as this?* How shall a man deal with those that have no Conscience, but against Ceremonies, and Episcopacy? Is there any resemblance between our case and this? The *Arians* (as Mr. *B.* confesses) deny'd by direct consequence the being

Theod. l. 4. c. 14.

Being of Christ; and is it any wonder that Orthodox Believers should have such abhorrence of these men? If any of our Bishops, Nay, if an Angel from Heaven should preach such Doctrine as this, let him be *Anathema*, and be abhorr'd as much as you please. In the mean time they are but in evil case, that depend upon the Authority of your instances for Separation, and will believe they are moderate Men, because they do not use *Orthodox rightful Bishops* as harshly, as the Orthodox did the *Arian* Usurpers; Although they have no great reason to boast of their civility upon this account, it being easy to shew out of their writings, and Sermons, (to say nothing of their common conversation) such Language as a Christian ought to be ashamed of: But these good men are too much mortified to blush, and keep their blood so much in subjection, that they never suffer it upon any provocation to flush into their faces.

After this we have another story of *the Virgins that sung in reproach of* Julian *the* Apostate: Who can help Libels, and Lampoons from stealing out against one that is generally hated? Did any of the Christians enter into any combination against him, or declare it lawful to Rebel? *Theod. l. 3. c. 13.*

Presently we have another story of the Church of *Edessa* that would assemble, notwithstanding the Emperors commands to the contrary. And what is all this to the

purpose? Did not the Primitive Christians do so too, and suffer'd Martyrdom for it? But did they ever enter into Covenants, and Practices against the State? No, here is mention of a poor Woman that made hast to the Assembly when she knew it would be disturb'd by Souldiers, and in probability be massacred: but what to do? to see how manfully a field Conventicle would behave it self, or to plunder the Baggage of the assailants, when they should be put to the rout? No such thing: but with a design to suffer Martyrdom, and to dye tamely with the rest, for the profession of the Faith.

In the next place, *We have* Basil's *answer to the Prefect, when he offered him the Emperours favour* (upon condition he would turn *Arian*, which our Author with great ingenuity forgets,) *This* (sayes he) *may take with Children*, &c. *And as for the Emperors friendship, I much value it joyned with Godliness, but if it want that, I say it is pernicious*: Upon this our Author remarks, *In one of us this Answer would have been enough to make us seem as bad, as it made* Basil *esteemed good*. I must ask your pardon if in this point I am not of your Opinion. For when your circumstances are the same with *Basils*, I believe you may follow his example; and they are unreasonable men that will find fault, that when any King or Emperors favour upon Earth is offered you upon condi-

Theod. Hist. l. 4. c. 19.

tion

tion to betray the Faith, you ſhould reject it with indignation. But the difference between the ſubſtance, and indifferent circumſtances of Religion, ſtrangely alters the caſe. There is a great deal more to this effect; of the Orthodox refuſing to conform to and keeping ſeparate aſſemblies from the *Arians*; which as they do not prove Sedition againſt thoſe that were then *Non-conformiſts*, ſo they do not excuſe ours. And this muſt be added, that in all theſe lamentable diſtractions of the Church we find no Orthodox Biſhop animate the people againſt the government, what perſecution ſoever they ſuffer'd; but on the contrary, reſtraining all Tendencies to Rebellion, and withdrawing themſelves when the Popular favour towards them grew inordinate and uncontroulable; whereas too many of our Schiſmatical Presbyters have kindled and fomented Sedition.

Mr. *B.* ſaith, *Audas a Biſhop in* Perſia *demoliſh'd* their *Temple or Pyreum by violence, for which the Emperor of* Perſia *kill'd him, and deſtroy'd all the Chriſtian Churches.* And *Audas* was very much to blame: and the fact was diſowned generally: and *Theodoret* condemns it, and antiquity never approv'd it. But who followsthe example of this Zealot Biſhop? I am ſure our Epiſcopal men are far enough from any ſuch imputation. But there are men in the world that Mr. *B.* knows, who have not deſtroy'd Pagan Temples, but Chriſtian Churches; and ſome were *Theodor. l. 5. c. 39.*

so zealous as to move for the pulling of them all down as polluted with superstition.

What *Theodoret* says of *Julian*, calling him *Tyrant*, which Mr. *B.* takes notice of, was after *Julian*'s Death, and therefore could not tend to Sedition. But whoever animated the people to resist him? His Apostacy indeed being inexcuseable, people took the Liberty to give him such a Character as he deserv'd when he was dead; and his successours were not at all concern'd in it, as having no relation to him. *Isaak*, as Mr. *B.* l. 4. c. 34. observes, spake to *Valens* with great boldness: but it was with the assurance of a Prophet, and such a one as spake immediately from God.

Theod. l. 5. c. 17. *The* Christian *people of* Thessalonica (says Mr. *B.*) *rose and kill'd some of* Theodosius *his officers, which provok'd him by his Souldiers, to kill seven thousand of them, for which* Ambrose *brought him to do open Penance.* The Christian people are much oblig'd to Mr. *B.* for giving them the honour of this Sedition: But *Theodoret* whom he cites for this story, says not one word of the mutineers being *Ruff. l. 1. c. 30.* *Christians.* *Rufinus* who is particular enough in relating it, says nothing of their being Christians, but has some circumstances that *Niceph. Hist. l. 12. c. 40.* make for the contrary. The occasion of this Sedition was about a Charioteer, who had lewdly attempted one of the Governours Pages, and was put in Prison for it; but being expert at his calling, the people

interceded

interceded for his releaſe, to entertain them at the Publick races: It is not likely the Chriſtians would have concern'd themſelves for ſuch a villain: or for his Performance at thoſe publick ſpectacles. It being forbidden by the Canons of the Church to be preſent at them, and extremely declaim'd againſt by the Biſhops of thoſe times: 2. It is not likely they were Chriſtians if we conſider the method *Theodoſius* took to revenge this outrage: for as theſe Chariot Races were the occaſion of the Sedition, ſo he made them the opportunity of his revenge, for having got a great number together to that ſight the Souldiers put his orders in execution, and ſlew 7000. in *Ludis Circenſibus*, ſays *Ruffinus*. 3. That the Generality of thoſe that came to theſe ſpectacles, and conſequently of thoſe that were there ſlain, were not Chriſtians, may be gather'd from the arguments us'd by St. *Ambroſe* to aggravate the Cruelty; where there is not a word of their being Chriſtians, and his brethren, but only of their bearing the Image of God and being men. 4. *Zoſimus*, who omits nothing that is to the reproach of the Chriſtians, does not mention this Sedition, which if it had been theirs he would have hardly paſs'd. But the Chriſtians, it ſeems are more beholden to that Heathen, and profeſs'd enemy, than to Mr. *B.* Laſtly ſince there are ſo many Authors Chriſtian and Heathen that mention this Sedition, and not one of them ſay the Chriſtians were concern'd in it, Mr. *B.* is in-

Ruffin. l. 11. c. 30.

Theod. ubi ſup. Niceph. l. 12. c. 41.

excuſa-

excuſable for charging ſuch a Barbarous Sedition upon thoſe of our Religion, as if he affected without any authority to render Chriſtianity odious. And though all this had been the fault of the Chriſtians, it is but an accidental Tumult, and the Biſhops are no way concern'd in it.

Our Author adds, *that to mention all the Bloodſhed in* Rome (*as at* Damaſus *Election and elſe*) and at *Conſtantinople*, and *Alexandria, would be tedious, even that which was ſhed on the account of Biſhops.* It cannot be deny'd but there were great and bloody Tumults upon the account of Biſhops, but there were not many Biſhops that encourag'd them; but on the contrary they us'd all means poſſible to prevent and remedy them, by withdrawing, by quitting their right, and going into voluntary Baniſhment. But almoſt all theſe Tumults were occaſion'd by the Popular elections of Biſhops, which Mr. *B.* out of his love to peace doubtleſs, and to ſave effuſion of Chriſtian blood, would reſtore by his Reformation of Epiſcopacy.

Lucius (he would ſay *Lucifer*) *Calaritanus, was a pious Biſhop* (ſays Mr. *B.*) *but ſo hot for ſeparation from thoſe that had been Arians, that he is numbr'd for it with the Heretick, though an Orthodox Biſhop*: And what is all this to Sedition?

The Novatians *were Epiſcopal, and ſo were the* Donatiſts (ſays Mr. *B.*) *and yet how have they been judged of for their Schiſm I need not tell*: They are very much to blame that

that ſay the *Presbyterians* or *Independents* troubl'd the Primitive Church: It was impoſſible for them to be troubleſome before they were at all, it ſeems all the Sects, and Schiſms of that time thought they had no right to pretend to be a Church, unleſs they had Biſhops: But theſe *Anti-Epiſcopal Separatiſts* were reſerved, it ſeems for the laſt times, as the ſevereſt curſe, and judgment that could befal the Church. Thoſe Epiſcopal Schiſmaticks indeed divided the Church, but theſe quite diſſolve it.

Beſides theſe Epiſcopal Schiſmaticks, Mr. *B.* gives a ſmall liſt of Biſhops that were Anti-Hereticks. *Apollinaris, father and ſon, Paulus Samoſatenus, Neſtorius, Dioſcorus, Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia, have been Arch-Hereticks, and the cauſe of Tumults and Diſſenſion.* There is much of this that is not true, and ſome of it that Mr. *B.* does not believe to be ſo: For 1. *Apollinaris* the Father was no Biſhop; and this was he that was the Arch-Heretick as *Zozomen* informs us: and as much may be gathered from *Gregory Nyſſen*, who makes *Apollinaris* a very old man when he ſhould have diſputed with *Ephraim Syrus*. *Apollinaris* the younger is ſaid to have been a Biſhop by *Philoſtorgius*, though *Photius* adds that he knows not whence he had it: But *Jerom* is expreſs, and that is the Common opinion. Yet whether he were the Author of this Hereſie or his father, he was a Heretick before he was a Biſhop, while he was yet reader of the Church

Hieron de Script. Apoll. Laodic. Syria. Ep. Patre Presbytero. l. 6. c. 25. Gregor. Nyſſ. Ephr. Syrus. Philoſt. l. 8. 15. Gottoffred. Diſſert. in Philoſt.

Socrat. l. 2. c. 46. Church of *Laodicea*: and from *Socrates*, and *Athanasius* writing against his Heresie, it is plain that it was long before the younger *Apollinaris* was made Bishop (if ever he were so.) *Nicephorus* makes the repulse of *Apollinaris* at *Antioch*, (which seems to be after he may be presum'd to have been Bishop from some expressions of that Historian,) to have been the occasion of his Heresie; but this manifestly contradicts, all ancienter Historians; and indeed the very story contradicts it self; for *Flavian* upon the place convicts him of having been a Heretick before: *Sandius* thinks he was not Bishop of *Laodicea*, till after the Council of *C. P.* because *Pelagius* is found Bishop of *Laodicea* in the subscriptions of that Council; though I believe this reason of small moment, and the Acts of that Council shew him to have been Bishop of that place before: However, manifest it is, that whether the father nor the son were Author of that Heresie, he was not a Bishop at that time. *Nestorius* Mr. *B.* himself has taken great pains to prove Orthodox, yet now it seems his mind is changed. The same he does with *Dioscorus*. He was on their side against the Councils that condemn'd them; but now from Advocate he is turn'd Accuser: *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* was no Heretick in the judgment of *Valesius*: but if he were, he was not an Heretick: because he did not begin the arch-Heresie, but followed *Arius*. *Theodorus* of *Mopuestia* was an Orthodox Bishop as Mr. *B.* owns

Niceph. l. 12. c. 4.

owns out of *Deredon*, and as *Facundus* proves at large; though he had the ill fortune to be condemn'd by Later Councils, upon a miſunderſtanding: this caſe I have diſcuſs'd more Particularly in another place, where *Theodore Tarſenſis*, his Doctrine was examin'd. At laſt Biſhops failing, Mr. *B.* mentions *Aerius, who ſpake againſt Biſhops, becauſe himſelf could not be Biſhop: ſo Peſtilent a thing the deſire of ſuch Biſhopricks have been*: And who can help it: if men will be Ambitious, and aſpiring: muſt there be no Government, becauſe it is the aim of ambition, or may be the Poſſeſſion of an evil man? So there muſt be no Kings, becauſe many times a Crown became the occaſion of Civil Wars: There muſt be no reputation, becauſe Ambitious men affect it, and grow Seditious to become Popular.

After this we have little hints of quarrels which were far enough from Sedition, as that of *Theodotus* and *Baſil*, and of *Euſebius* and *Baſil*, the former was a particular humour, and had no conſequence. Of the latter, becauſe Mr. *B.* ſays *it was ſad and ſcandalous*, I will give a more particular relation, that the Reader may diſcern the difference between the Temper of thoſe good men that are here ſcandalouſly repreſented, and that of our *Separatiſts* that Mr. *B.* compares with, and prefers before them.

A difference happen'd between *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Caſarea* and St. *Baſil* then Presbyter of that Church; how or upon what occaſion *Gregory* *Nazian. Orat. de Baſilio.*

Gregory Nazian. Was not willing to discover; thinking it not much for the honour of Religon to rip up the faults of Bishops. But he says indeed that *Eusebius*, though he was a very good man, yet was in fault; and seems to say that he envi'd *Basil*: But when the falling out was known, the Monks took *Basils* Part, and drew many of the people with them, and would have done him right upon his Bishop: but this good man, though he knew the Merit of his cause, and of his person, yet for peace's sake retir'd into the Wilderness. He might have said to his Monks, that the people must stand by them; and considering his Learning and Eloquence, he might have presum'd to have edified more in a Coventicle than the Bishop could in the Church; yet this good man had an humbler opinion of his gifts, than to endanger the peace of the Church, rather than forbear the exercise of them: And after a long Banishment and silence, he was not grown so resty and Irreconcileable, but that when his Church, was threatned by the *Arian* Pest, he return'd voluntarily to assist his Bishop without desiring the Church Walls (*i. e.* the Order and Discipline of it) to be broken down that he might enter Triumphantly like a Conquerour. He came of his own accord, submitted to his Bishop and liv'd with him 'till he dy'd not only in peace and Charity; but in the most entire friendship and confidence. The Application of the Parable of the merciful *Samaritan*

is

is not improper here. *Go thou and do likewise.*

The contention between Basil and *Euthemius* (*Anthimus* I suppose he means *about the extent of their Diocese was no less* (Scandalous) Any unreasonable Usurper may bring the meekest man upon earth into odious Debates; so Saint *Paul* himself was put upon an Invidious vindication of his Authority and Jurisdiction.

The People of Cæsarea would have torn in pieces Eusebius, *the Emperor's* (the Empress he would have said) *own uncle*, for *Basils sake if he had not hindred them*; And does not this shew the Loyalty, as well as the Authority of this Bishop: But the People were Episcopal; all people, especially those of the meaner sort, as these were, are apt to be mov'd into disorder, but it is much for the Honour of the Bishops authority, and their Duty, that they obey'd him so readily: surely they are much more Tolerable than those that Assassin Bishops. *Greg. Nazianz. Orat 19. de Basil.*

The difference between those of *Neo Cæsarea* and *Basil* is not worth the mentioning because it contains nothing like Sedition; and is only a quarrel about Psalmody, and some new orders introduc'd among them.

The Antiochians *for a Tax under* Theodosius *the Great did Tumultuate and kill the Magistrates, and destroy'd the Statues of* Flacilla *the good Empress*: And what then? What is this to the Bishops? It does not appear

pear that these mutineers were Christians.

Zozim. l. 4. c. 38. The Heathens indeed were very Turbulent in this Emperors Reign because he had Order'd their Idols should be destroy'd, and that they were the men principally concern'd

Zozim. l. 4. c. 42. in this uproar we may understand by the choice of their Delegates whom they sent to carry their submission to the Emperor: *Lybanius* and *Hilarius* both Heathens. The Church of *Antioch* I suppose was not in such want as to be forc'd to charge the enemies of their Religion with so great a trust, nor could they have been so absurd as to commit their cause to such hands as they could not be assur'd of, and they could not think they would be so acceptable to a zealous Christian Emperor, who had so lately put out such severe Edicts against the Heathen superstition. It shews a strange temper when a man to render Bishops odious will not stick to raise false accusations against Christians, and charge them with the Sedition of Heathens. *In the worst,* says Mr. *B. Good* Ambrose *at* Milan (*was not silenc'd as we are*) *but by an Orthodox Emperor desir'd and Commanded to deliver the Arians possession but of one Church and he refus'd to do it and to forsake that Church. &c. Whereas we left all our Churches at a word*: It is strange Mr. *B.* should take such delight to compare us with the *Arians*; surely he would have his Reader believe we are as unsound in the Faith as those Hereticks, or else all this discourse is but to amuse and impose upon him; But

their

there is great reaſon to value the peacable Reſignation of the *Nonconformiſts*, when we conſider by what Uſurpation and violence they were brought in; and what a number of worthy Learned Miniſters of the Church of *England* were turned out to make vacancies for theſe Men who were to inſtruct the people in new Myſteries of Religion, which their old Paſtours had not the Conſcience, or ability to Teach them, that is of the *Lawfulneſs* of *Rebellion.*

We have ſeveral other inſtances of St. *Ambroſe* his zeal againſt the *Arians*, and ſome of his Charity in reſcuing ſome of them from the fury of the multitude, of his popularity, *&c.* But not a word of his ſedition, or his forcible reſiſtance of the Emperour: The harſheſt thing he did, was the ſhutting of the Church againſt the Officers of the Emperour, who would have delivered it to the *Arians* for a place to Blaſpheme Chriſt, under pretence of Worſhipping him.

But at length, after long ſtraining Mr. *B.* has found out ſome Biſhops in the ſame fault, of owning and flattering Tyrants, and Uſurpers, with himſelf, and this becauſe it is home to the purpoſe, and ſeems to parallel his Dedications to *R. Cromwel.* We have the ſtory at length, and ſet out with all the advantage of Remarks and compariſons, and thus it begins.

And becauſe the late Revolutions in England *are made by ſome Prelates. The pretence*

for the Silencing of 1800 *Miniſters, of whom one in ten never meddled with Wars: being fallen again on this caſe of* Maximus, *Let it be Noted how like he was to* Cromwel, *ſaving that it was not the Sectaries, but the Biſhops that he ſtudied to pleaſe, and riſe by*: How juſt the pretence was, Mr. *B.* can tell better than I, if he would ſpeak-out: And whether he will or no, others perhaps will have the Courage and the Honeſty to do it.

How like *Cromwel* was to *Maximus* I do not find by Mr. *B.* though he deſires *it ſhould be Noted*: They were both Uſurpers, but as unlike in their circumſtances, as they could well be imagined. For Firſt, *Cromwel* Uſurped a Kingdom ſetled in one Family by a long and unqueſtionable Deſcent, upon a King of undoubted right. *Maximus* Uſurped an Elective Empire at the diſpoſal of Armies, being choſen by his own Army, and that of *Gratian*, (as he ſaid) againſt his will. *Gratian* againſt whom *Maximus* Rebelled, was kill'd indeed by *Andragathius*, an Officer of this Tyrant: by his order as moſt ſuppoſe; but as he himſelf proteſted, without his knowledg: However it was in purſuit, in open Field, in a poſture of Reſiſtance, and at the head of ſome of his Troops. But *Cromwel* murdered the late King in cold blood, after the formality of a Tryal, with all the pomp and oſtentation of inſolence and cruelty: *Maximus* when he had done this, though he entred by

Sulp. Sev. de vit. Mart. c. 23. Aur. vict. Soz. Sozom

Zozim l. 4. c. 37.

by Treaſon, yet afterwards had his Title confirmed by Treaties concluded with *Valentinian*, and *Theodoſius* the great, who ordered their names ſhould be joyned together in all publick forms, and that his Statues ſhould be every where ſet up: So that thoſe who lived in the Provinces under *Maximus* could not now reject him without Rebellion; He being their Prince, and no other having any right, or making any claim. And had he been contented with his firſt conqueſt, it is not likely *Theodoſius* had ever armed againſt him: But *Cromwel*, as he entred without any colour of right according to the conſtitution of this Kingdom, ſo while he enjoyed it, the right Heir was ſtill in being, to whom he and all the people in Conſcience ſtill owed Allegiance, and whoſe intereſt the invincible Loyalty of ſome of his ſubjects did ſtill promote, and therefore they were not ſo excuſable that complyed with this Tyrant, as thoſe that cloſed with *Maximus*. Laſtly, *Maximus* did pretend ſomething of Title by Deſcent, as being related to *Conſtantine* the Great. But *Cromwel* never pretended to be of the Royal Family: So that here was a vaſt difference between theſe two perſons before us. But Mr. *B.* can find no difference but this, *That* Maximus *ſtudied to pleaſe the Biſhops, and riſe by them, and not by the Sectaries*: If there had been any Sectaries in thoſe dayes of the ſame Principles, with ſome of ours; He underſtood his intereſt too well

Ambr. ep. 27. Sozom. l. 7. c. 13. Zozim ubi ſupra.

Baron. An. 383. 1.

to have neglected them. But how is it the Bishops fault, that *he studied to please them?* That *he studied to rise by them*, is more than any body has said before Mr. *B.* And if *Maximus* had such a design upon the Bishops, he was surely disappointed; for we do not find any where, that any Bishop did ever contribute in the least to the raising of him. But besides to what would he rise? He was Emperour already, before we find him take the least notice of the Bishops: And if after this success of his Army, to establish himself in his new conquest, he indeavoured to oblige all sorts of people, and amongst the rest, the Bishops, who were popular men in those dayes; I cannot understand, how it can be any great reproach to them. Sometimes wicked Men may reverence that Vertue and goodness in others, that they will not practise themselves Sometimes their guilty Consciences, and their just fear of reproof, makes them stand in awe of men of severe conversation, and to indeavour to please them. Sometimes their interest leads them to oblige those that have any influence or Authority over the people: And one would think this would hardly be objected by way of reproach to them that innocently received the obligation. Well, But what did this Usurper do to please the Bishops? And how far were they instrumental to his advancement? Mr. *B.* tells us, *When* Gratian *the Emperour befriended the Priscillianists*; Maximus *to please the Bishops,*

ſhops, perſecuted them to death: But by this, if he pleaſed ſome Biſhops, he diſpleaſed ſeveral others, who were extreamly diſſatisfied with theſe proceedings; although they all were of opinion thoſe Hereticks were not fit to live: And in the account which *Severus* gives of this proceeding, he intimates that the Biſhops were generally diſſatisfied; that *Ithacius* to avoid their proſecution, did lay down his Biſhoprick; that *Theognoſtus* and a Synod condemned him for it. Yet another Synod, to prevent a Schiſm in all likelihood, received him into their Communion: But to proceed, ſaith Mr. *B When* Valentinian, *by* Juſtina *the Empreſſes's means, did perſecute or trouble* Ambroſe, *for refuſing to deliver a Church to the* Arians, *and alſo other Orthodox Biſhops as well as* Ambroſe; Maximus *gave to* Ambroſe *and the Biſhops the honour of keeping him out of* Italy; *and wrote his Letters to* Valentinian *for the Orthodox Biſhops, telling him how grievous a thing it is to perſecute the Miniſters of God, and when under his Father they went for faithful Miniſters. Upon this meſſage of* Maximus: *he ſaith, that* Valentinian *being afraid of him, the perſecution ceaſed, and* Ambroſe *muſt be ſent upon an Embaſſage to* Maximus, *to ſtop him.* As to the *when*, Mr. *B.* miſtakes the time in the firſt place, with *Socrates*, and *Sozomen*; *Socrates* makes his perſecution of *Ambroſe* to be before the Death of *Gratian*, which that Hiſtorian ſays, frighted *Juſtina*, that ſhe left off tro-

Sulp. Sev. 2. in fin.

Sulp. Sev. de vit. mar. Baron. An. 385. 29.

Socr. l. 5. c. 11. Soz.

Ep. 33. *Baron. An.* 383. 19. that good Bishop any longer. But *Ambrose* himself contradicts it, and shews plainly that this happened after his first Embassy, and after his obtaining a peace of *Maximus*. In the next place: Maximus *is said to have given* Ambrose *and the Bishops, the honour of keeping him out of* Italy. It was certainly a great Honour to *Ambrose* (for other Bishops there were none concerned in it) But I much question whether ever *Maximus* designed it as such; who (as we shall shew presently) not out of reverence to *Ambrose*, but for fear of *Valentinian's* preparation accepted a Peace. *But this Usurper*, saith Mr. *B. wrote Letters to* Valentinian *in favour of the Orthodox Bishops and St.* Ambrose. Who can help it, if a busy Usurper will be forward to concern himself in matters that do not belong to him? But lest the Reader may suspect any treacherous correspondence between those Bishops and this Usurper, I will give a brief account of *Ambrose* his negotiation with him. When *Maximus* had seised that part of the Western Empire that *Gratian* was possessed of, *Valentinian*, fearing lest the Tyrant should invade his Countries, sends St. *Ambrose* to mediate a peace: *Maximus* having understood that *Valentinian* was making some preparations against him, and had entertained the *Huns* and other Auxiliaries, began to incline to an accommodation, looking upon the Invasion of *Italy* as too hazardous an attempt: Therefore he sent some of his Offi-

Glorioſum eſt mihi hoc pro ſalute pupilli Imperatoris. Amb. Ep. 27.

Amb. Ep. 27.

cers

cers to meet *Ambroſe*, and to offer him a peace; which afterwards was concluded upon theſe Terms: That *Maximus* ſhould be owned Emperour, and retain all the Countries he was poſſeſſed of: This was the firſt Embaſſy of *Ambroſe*, in which negotiation, it was not ſo much to do Honour to *Ambroſe*, as out of fear of ~~*Gratians*~~ *Valentinian's* preparations, that *Maximus* did forbear invading *Italy*. But when this Uſurper perceived that *Valentinians* affairs were not in ſo good a poſture as he imagined at firſt, he was vexed that he had let ſo fair an opportunity ſlip, of adding the Dominions of *Valentinian* to his other Conqueſts. Upon this, he begins to pick quarrels with *Valentinian*, to take the part of the Orthodox Biſhops, nay of the Heathens, and every one that had reaſon of diſcontent, calling himſelf *Procuratorem Reipublicæ*. *Valentinian* jealous of his deſigns, ſends *Ambroſe* a ſecond time, to deſire *Gratians* body, and likely to ſound *Maximus*. This good Biſhop was entertained this time but very coldly: The Uſurper reproached him with having impoſed upon him before, and keeping him out of *Italy*. The Biſhop replyed, that it was not he, but his own fears that prevailed with him: and in ſhort, when *Ambroſe* would not communicate with him nor his Biſhops, becauſe he looked upon him as a man of blood; He was ſent back without having been able to effect any thing, and with no better anſwer than that *Maximus*

would consider of it. This is the summ of this negotiation, as *Ambrose* himself, and *Paulinus* in his life, gives an account of it. And now if any disloyalty can be suspected in *Ambrose*, and the Orthodox Bishops, it must be such a secret as was never yet revealed: Whereas nothing is more evident from these Relations, than the integrity of that Bishop, and his extraordinary affection towards his Prince and Country. For from what has been already said we may observe, 1. That *Ambrose* was not only a dutiful Subject, but as himself sayes, though without vanity, the Father or Guardian of his Prince. 2. The confidence his Prince had in his integrity, when after so great and fresh Provocations he would trust him with his life and Empire, and that although he had been provoked in the most tender part, by his Princess indeavours for the introducing of Arianism. Others perhaps if they had been in his condition, would have looked upon this Tyrants declaring for the Truth, as such an opportunity that Providence had offered for the preservation of the Faith: and since the Empress was of a false Religion, and the Emperour was Governed by her, why should not they set up this *Maximus* as the Protector of the true Faith? But *Ambrose* and the Bishops were of another mind. They knew what it was to Dye for their Religion, but did not understand what it was to brigue, or to resist.

I

I have thus far obſerv'd with Mr. *B.* what this Uſurper *Maximus* did in favour of the Biſhops, how he ſtudied to pleaſe and rule by them. The next thing we ought to enquire after is, what ſucceſs his Deſign upon the Biſhops produced, and whether they anſwer'd his kindneſſes, by forming any intereſt to ſupport his Pretenſions, or by declaring in his favour.

Mr. *B.* gives a full account of it in theſe words, *and the ſaid* Maximus, *and the Biſhops did ſo cloſe, that only one* Hyginus *a Biſhop is mention'd, and* Theognoſtus, *beſides* Ambroſe *and* Martin, *that rejected* Maximus. I ſhall grant Mr. *B.* here more than he deſires. The truth is, that even thoſe Biſhops that he ſays rejected *Maximus*, did Really own him for Emperor, as having all the Confirmation the Laws of that time did require: and it is a miſtake of Mr. *B.* before, where he tells us that *Ambroſe would not Communicate with the Biſhops becauſe they own'd* Maximus, whereas all the quarrel of St. *Martin* and *Theognoſtus* was againſt his proceedings with the *Priſcillianiſts*, and his Murdering of *Gratian*, if he Murder'd him. But for all that they own'd him to be Emperor, as much as thoſe did that Communicated with him. *Ambroſe* would not Communicate with *Theodoſius* upon the like account: but never diſown'd his Authority, as Emperor all that while; what *Hyginus* did, Mr. *B.* cannot tell without Revelation; he was banniſh'd by *Maximus* (as

St.

St. *Ambroſe* tells us,) but the Reaſon is not expreſs'd. Well then: if all this be true, Mr. *B*'s. Obſervation will be ſo too; *That Biſhops can comply with Uſurpers that will be for them, as well as Presbyters.* What they *can* do is not our Queſtion, but this inſtance of *Maximus* I am ſure does not diſcover in them any great inclination to it, for how I pray did theſe Biſhops comply with that Uſurper? Were any of them inſtrumental to his Advancement? did they Preach up his cauſe, and the lawfulneſs of his Revolt? Did they ever preſs the people to bring in their Plate, and Contributions? Or after his ſucceſſes and the Murder of *Gratian*, did any of theſe Biſhops juſtifie the Uſurpers Proceedings, and preach and print in defence of that Barbarous Regicide? did they flatter him as the Preſerver of Religion, the *David*, the Champion of *Iſrael*? I believe one much better vers'd in Antiquity than Mr. *B.* will find it a hard task to find out any Books, or Dedications of Biſhops to this effect: But Mr. *B.* can tell who Printed, and Preach'd, and gathered ſubſcriptions, for the Approbation of the moſt execrable Regicide committed under the Sun: and others can ſay ſomething, though at preſent it is not neceſſary to be particular. Well: But as to the Biſhops that own'd *Maximus*, what ſort of compliance was theirs? What did they do ſo much in favour of the Uſurper? When he had Conquer'd the Countrys where they liv'd,

liv'd, and been own'd by both the Emperors Reigning, then they ſubmitted to him; that is, they did not think themſelves oblig'd to Rebel, or to ſtir up the People againſt him; that was none of their buſineſs: and therefore they meddled not with it. And in ſhort, we do not find they ſtudied any other complyance than only to be quiet and to do their own buſineſs. Some of them indeed deſir'd his aſſiſtance againſt the *Priſcillianiſts*; ſo might Biſhops have deſired *Cromwel* to ſupreſs *Ranters*, *Seekers*, *Adamites*, and ſuch like, that were not only a Reproach to Chriſtian Religion, but to Humane Society: and yet I do believe ſuch an Addreſs would hardly have been interpreted by the ſtricteſt Royaliſt for a Criminal complyance with the Uſurper. Moſt of the Biſhops in *Maximus* his Dominon communicated with him, you will ſay; and that goes a little farther. I do not ſee what great hurt there was in all this: what if he pretended to be Penitent? what if he excus'd it as well as he could, by pretending he was forc'd by the Souldiers? I believe *Ambroſe* did not ſcruple his Communion at firſt, and he ſeems to hint as much; but upon his ſecond Embaſſy he found him to be a bloody Aſpiring man, and then would have nothing to do with him or any that adhered to him; which he might yet do with greater freedom and decence than thoſe that were his Subjects, becauſe *Ambroſe* belong'd to another Prince, and own'd him only in Titular Conjuncti-

on

on with his own Master. And now let the Reader judge by this, instance how the Bishops comply'd with Usurpers, and how like the case of *Maximus* and his Bishops, is to that of *Cromwel* and his Adherents and flatterers.

The last instance Mr. *B.* gives out of Antiquity is *Ambrose* his letter to *Eugenius* the Tyrant, which is inscrib'd, *Clementissimo Imperatori Eugenio*: and in the close of the Letter we have these expressions, *in his vero in quibus vos rogari decet, etiam exhiberi sedulitatem Potestati debitam; sicut & Scriptum est, cui Honorem, Honorem; cui Tributum, Tributum; nam cum Privato detulerim corde Intimo, quomodo non differrem Imperatori? i. e.* "But in this matter where it be-"cometh us to petition you, we must also "give the diligence due to Power, as it is "written, Honour to whom Honour; Tri-"bute to whom Tribute; for when I ho-"nour'd you, when you were a private man "from the inwards of my heart, how "should not I honour you an Emperor? Thus Mr. *B.* Here it is necessary in the first place to observe the occasion, and necessity of *Ambrose* his writing. Many of the *Roman* Senate, being still Gentiles, had prevail'd with *Eugenius* to furnish the expence of the publick Sacrifices, as it was used to be in former times: *Ambrose*, who had prevented this indignity to Christian Religion under *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, was earnestly solicited by his friends, to try his Authority with

with *Eugenius*, who was newly ſet up by the Army; with much unwillingneſs he at laſt undertook it. He gives him the Title of Emperor, and ſuch Title as the condition of thoſe times afforded, this *Eugenius* had; being ſet up by the Army which had been in poſſeſſion of the right of making Emperors for ſeveral ages. But though he were an Uſurper, yet there is no flattery in uſing the common Stile to him; ſo *Juſtin Martyr* calls *Marcus Antoninus* εὐσεβῆ Pious, when he knew him to be an Idolater. St. *Paul* owns a reſpect due to the High Prieſt, although the office was Abrogated by our Saviours Prieſthood, and the Jewiſh Prieſts were now Uſurpers. So *Proteſtant* Princes, when they have occaſion to write to the Pope, are fain to uſe the Stile of his *Holineſs*; and yet by that Title are not to be underſtood to acknowledge his Uſurpations. So *Ambroſe inſcribed his Epiſtle*, *Clementiſſimo Imperatori Eugenio.* But does not he flatter him with theſe Expreſſions, *ſedulitas Poteſtati debita?* This is but a poor Complement; and own'd no farther than in general Terms; *Honour*, where *Honour*. But does not he profeſs he Honours him? He ſays indeed, when he was a private man he had reſpect for him, and ſhould not he now pay it when he was Emperor? This queſtion I believe is a little Artificial; and us'd on purpoſe becauſe he would not ſpeak out: as we may ſay by the words following, *ſed qui vobis deferri vultis, patimini ut deferatur ei, quem imperii veſtri*

vultis

vultis Autorem probari. "But Sir, permit "that Honour you would have pai'd you, "to be given to him, whom you would have "to be thought the Author of your Empire: *whom you would have to be thought*, is an intimation that he begg'd his pardon that he could not think ſo.

But for a farther vindication of St. *Ambroſe*, we may ſee more particularly from the ſame letter how he behav'd himſelf towards this Uſurper *Eugenius*. 1. Underſtanding he was to come to *Milan*, the Biſhop left the Town, becauſe he would not be forc'd to communicate with, or to own him: and in the beginning of this Epiſtle he gives *Eugenius* himſelf this ſhort account of it; *Seceſſionis meæ cauſa timor Domini fuit. Nec pluris facere cujuſvis Hominis, quam Chriſti gratiam conſuevi. i. e.* "The fear of God "was the occaſion of my departure: and "I am not uſed to make greater account "of any mans favour, than of Chriſts. Then after a large account of what he had urg'd to *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, the Reader may ſee how far *Ambroſe* was from any mean complyance with this *Eugenius*; whom he would have no Communication with, not ſo much as by writing, though urg'd and provok'd to it: *Ideo etiam in primordiis Imperii tui Scribenti non reſcripſi, quia iſtud prævidebam futurum.* "In the beginning of "thy Reign I did not anſwer thy Letter, becauſe I foreſaw what would be. *Denique repoſcenti litteras cum non Reſcriberem, dixi, ea:*

Paulin. in vit. Ambr.

hæc causa est quod extorquendum ei Arbitror: "At last when I refus'd to writ upon se-"cond summons, I gave this reason, that "I thought it must be extorted from "him.

And now since Mr. *B.* upon this Letter of St. *Ambrose* does Appeal to the Reader: Saying, *Reader do not only judge of my two Epistles to* R. Cromwel *by these Passages, but even of theirs that submitted to* Oliver *himself*; and *yet judge of the Inferences that are rais'd by our Accusers.* Since I say he does Appeal, he cannot be offended, if I set down some passages of those Epistles, and then let the Reader compare: I will be none of his Accusers, nor make the least Inference good or bad from them. Before his five Disputations of Church Government, he has an Epistle *to his Highness* Richard *Lord* Protector *of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland,* and *Ireland.* And it begins with these words.

Sir,

Sir,

THese Papers are Ambitious of Accompanying those against Popery into your Highness's presence, for the Tender of their service, and that upon the same account. The Controversies here decided, are those that have had a hand in most of the Great Transactions, that of late years have here past, and that still have a hand in the Differences that hinder our desir'd peace. I observe that the Nation Generally rejoyceth in your Peaceable entrance upon the Government: and are affected with indignation, if they hear but any Rumours that Troublesome Persons would disturb their hopes. And many are perswaded that you have been strangely kept from participating in any of our late bloody Contentions, that God might make you a Healer of our Breaches, and employ you in that Temple work, which David *himself might not be honour'd with, though it was in his mind,* beause he had shed blood abundantly, and made great wars, 1 *Chron.* 22. 7. 8. *I perceive also that some Settlement of Church Affairs will be expected from you by the most*: And then after some bitterness against the Bishops and their party; and some sharpness against the Sectaries, and some discourse against a General Toleration in Religion, he comes at last

laſt to Adviſe the Protector *to keep tenderly the Golden mean in this point,* and for his own ſake not to Indulge all; where we have this Remarkable paſſage, *If you give liberty to all that is call'd Religion, you will ſoon be judged of no Religion, and lov'd accordingly*: Then after ſome more particular Advice how to behave himſelf, Mr. *B.* adds, *If you could be the happy inſtrument of taking away the Diviſions of the Godly ——— this would be the way to lift you higheſt in the eſteem and love of all your people; and make them ſee that you were* Appointed of God *to be a Healer and Reſtorer; and to Glory in you, and bleſs God for you, as the inſtrument of our chiefeſt peace.——I ſhould have been as ready as another to cenſure ſuch an Addreſs as this, as guilty of Preſumptuous boldneſs, but that I conſider what is the work of my calling, and what it is to be faithful to the eternal God, and am Conſcious of fidelity to your Highneſs in my boldneſs. My carneſt Prayers for your Highneſs ſhall be, that your own ſoul being firſt ſubjected and devoted wholly to God, you may Rule as one that is Rul'd by him, &c. And that God would endue your Highneſs with that Heavenly wiſdom.——That ſo the eternal God may be engag'd in the Protection of your Dominions and you. ——Parliaments will love and Honour you, and Abhor the Motions that tend to a diviſion, or your juſt diſpleaſure: Miniſters will heartily pray for you and praiſe the Lord for his mercies by you. And Teach all the people to love, and Honour, and obey*

you.——I crave your Highneſs Pardon for this Bolaneſs, and your favourable acceptance of the tender'd ſervice of

R. BAXTER.

An Extract out of Mr. *B's.* Epiſtle Dedicatory to *R. Cromwel* before his *Key for Catholicks.*

Sir,

THeſe Papers preſume to tender you their ſervice, becauſe the ſubject of them is ſuch as it moſt nearly concerns both us and you, that you be well acquainted with the Roman Canons *that Batter the Unity,* &c.——*It is only the neceſſary defence of your life, and dignity, and lives of all the Proteſtants that are under your Protection or Government, and the ſouls of men, that I deſire. The ſerious endeavours of your* Renowned Father, *for the Proteſtants of* Savoy, *diſcover'd to the world by Mr.* M. *in his Letters,* &c. *Hath won him more eſteem in the hearts of many that fear the Lord, than all his Victories in themſelves conſider'd, we pray that you may inherit a Tender care of the cauſe of Chriſt.——We humbly Requeſt, that you would faithfully adhere to thoſe that fear the Lord in your Dominions.* Then ſpeaking of ſeveral ſorts of perſons that he calls Mask'd Papiſts, (as I believe ſome were, and I am afraid

afraid there are more of the ſort:) He mentions in the Tenth place, *Thoſe that under the pretence of defending Prelacy, and of uniting us to* Rome, *do adhere to the courſe of* Grotius *and* St. Clara (one without the ſpirit of Divination may gueſs who are meant) *and Unchurch all Reform'd Churches, degrade all the Miniſters that are not of their way, while they maintain the verity of the Church of* Rome *and the* Validity *of her Ordination.*——*Theſe Ten ſorts of men we are jealous of, and if ever you Advance them into places of command or power, It will encreaſe our jealouſies.*——*Laſtly we beſeech you that Toleration may be limited by execution as well as by Law*——*and who would have thought that had not known it, that they* (the Jeſuits and Friers) *had ſo Inſinuated into the ſeveral Sects among us, and that they were ſo induſtrious in their work, as the* New-caſtle Scottiſh Jew *was, &c.* At laſt after all his Advices and Petitions he adds,——*If you aſk, who it is that Preſumeth thus to be your Monitor: It is one that ſerveth ſo great a Maſter, that he thinks it no unwarrantable Preſumption in ſuch a caſe to be faithfully plain with the greateſt Prince; it is one that ſtands ſo near eternity, where* Lazarus *ſhall wear the Crown, that unfaithful manpleaſing would be to him a double crime; it is one that Rejoyceth in the preſent happineſs of* England, *and wiſhes earneſtly that it were but as well with the reſt of the world, and that honoureth all the Providences of God by which we have been brought to what we are. And*

he is one, that concurring in the common hopes yet to these Nations under your Government. And observing your acceptance of the frequent Addresses, that from all Parts of the Land come to you, was encourag'd to do what you daily allow your Preachers to do, and to Concur in the Tenders, and some performance of his service. ——That the Lord will make you a Healer and preserver of his Churches here at Home, and a successful helper to his Churches abroad, is the earnest Prayer of your Highness's *Faithful Subject,*

R. BAXTER.

I hope Mr. *B.* will find no Reason to tax me of any disingenuity in this Extract, for I have not torn pieces of sentences, and conceal'd any thing that might give words a more favourable Construction; but I must confess it is with great Reluctance that I have been able to do it at all: And since Mr. *B.* himself refers to them, and compares them with *Ambrose* his Epistle, and endeavours to justifie them by hinting at other instances, I could not avoid giving some account of them. I have promis'd to make no Inferences, *Malicious*, or *not Malicious* from them, but as to the occasion that has brought in all this, I must crave leave to shew him, besides the expressions, a great difference between these Epistles and that he

he compar'd them with. For that was extorted by importunity, theſe are volunteer ſervices to an Uſurper. *Eugenius* had written twice to *Ambroſe* before he would make any anſwer; and then he owns ſuch a frowardneſs, that unleſs the Honour of Religion, threatned by the Reſtauration of Idolatry, had requir'd it of him, he would not then have been prevail'd with to have made any Applications to him: although there had paſs'd an aquaintance and friendſhip between them, when *Eugenius* was a Private man: But Mr. *B.* was a ſtranger to *R. Cromwel*, and had no great temptation to dedicate books to him, nor any reaſonable hopes that the *Protector* would ever read this Epiſtle. In ſhort, if I were as worthy to adviſe Mr. *B.* as he was to adviſe *Cromwel*, I would ſay it were much more adviſeable for a Chriſtian (eſpecially for one that thinks he is *ſo near his Eternal State*,) to repent and cry *peccavimus* with the Biſhops in the Council of *Chalcedon*, whom he ſomething Unchriſtianly derides, than to ſtand upon juſtification of the fact, and think to face it out by comparing himſelf with them that were ſo unlike him in all their circumſtances.

This odious, unpleaſant work is no ſooner done, but Mr. *B.* leads me into a ſubject much more Invidious, by his charging the late Rebellion upon the Biſhops and their Party.

But this I must add (says Mr. *B.*) *ad homines, That it has been the Bishops themselves, that have been the grand cause of our Church Divisions and Separations. What advantage they have given the Separatists I have shewed before: I am sure in the Congregation where I once was Teacher, and the Country about, nothing that ever came to pass, has so inclin'd the people to avoid the Prelates, as their own doing, especially the silencing, and Reproaching their Ancient Teachers, whom they knew longer and better than the Prelates did:* and to say truth, the people generally are very Competent judges of their Pastors. But if the Bishops have been the *Cause*, the *Grand cause* of our divisions, how came it to pass that when the Bishops were gone, that these divisions increas'd? in other evils, when you remove the *Grand cause*, there follows abatement of the distemper: This strange disease of separation grows more incurable by removing the cause. But Mr. *B.* saith, the reproaching and *Silencing* of the ancient Ministers gave offence, and made the Bishops odious. If Mr. *B.* means that which was done after his Majesties Restauration: it will be an easie matter to answer, There were many of those Ministers that were Usurpers, and had intruded into the Churches of other men, who had been silenc'd, and cast out by those powers that had reason to be jealous of honest men. There were many others that were intruders into the Ministry, and such not a few of them as

as Mr. *B.* himſelf would not have thought fit to have continued. All the reſt were ſuch as would not ſubmit to the Rule that was then Eſtabliſht in the Church, but choſe rather to leave their Livings, and the Biſhops could not help it any other wiſe than as they were Members of Parliament; for it was the Law that tied them to that choice, and not the Biſhops. If Mr. *B.* means what happen'd before the laſt Civil Wars; as 'tis likely he may becauſe that follows next, then theſe *Ancient Teachers* that he ſpeaks of, howſoever they might be qualified otherwiſe, were the inſtruments of an Anti-Monarchical, Anti Epiſcopal Faction. They would preach but they would not conform to the Eſtabliſht Religion. Nay many of them would Preach againſt it, and againſt their Governours too; and Alienate the pople from them by their Sermons. Theſe were ſuch Incendiaries as no Government would have endured. And what manner of men ſeveral of them were may be obſerv'd from the Regiſter of *Norwich*: where, of four perſons who were inhibited preaching, *one was by Trade a* Draper, *another a* Weaver, *and a third a* Taylor: and perhaps not altogether ſo learned as the *Weavers* and *Plowmen* of *Kidderminſter*, whom Mr. *B.* vouches of Abilities not inferior to moſt of the Ancient Fathers. Yet by *Silencing* of theſe, ſaith Mr. *B.* the Biſhops *caus'd ſeparation.* It is pity the people ſhould know no better than to follow ſuch

Heyl. Life of Laud, p. 291.

men as these out of the Church: but if there be such an absolute necessity that these men must preach I should think they would become a Conventicle much better than a Church.

In the next place Mr. *B.* gives us a new account of the original of the late Wars: and affirms *that it was a Parliament of Episcopals and Erastians, and not of Presbyterians, who first took up Arms in* England *against the King.* It is well the Bishops had no share in it. But pray where were the *Presbyterians*, when this Parliament took up Arms, were they not yet in being? Or were there none of them in the House? Or did they Protest against the proceedings of those *Episcopals* and *Erastians?* As many of them as were of the Parliament I hope consented to the taking up of Arms; and it may be, may give Mr. *B.* little thanks for depriving them of the glory of the action. For the *Erastians* I have not much to say; but that at last they outwitted the *Presbyterians*, although in the beginning they were reckon'd all one. But can Mr. *B.* believe (or think any body else so weak as to be impos'd upon in a matter so notorious) that *it was a Parliament of Episcopals and Erastians, and not Presbyterians, that began the like War?* were they *Episcopals* that voted down Episcopacy, Root and Branch before the war was begun? Were they *Episcopals* that Petition'd the King at *York* for *Reformation in Discipline and Worship? i. e.* for Abolishing of *Episcopacy* and *Common Prayer?* Were they

Episcopals

Epiſcopals who in their humble *deſires tendred to the King at* Oxford, pray him *to give his Royal Aſſent for the utter Aboliſhing Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops,* &c. *out of the Church of* England; *and to promiſe to Paſs other ſuch Good Bills, for ſetling of Church Government, as upon conſultation the Aſſembly of Divines ſhall be reſolv'd on by both houſes of Parliament*? Were they *Epiſcopals* that enter d into *a Solemn League* and *Covenant* againſt Epiſcopacy, and for Reforming of our Church after the Presbyterian Platform? In ſhort were they *Epiſcopals* that ſet up *Presbytery* by ſo many and repeated *Ordinances*? And this was the Parliament that began and continued the War: The *Eraſtians* and *Independents* were at firſt inconſiderable, and acted joyntly with the *Presbyterians*, taking the Covenant as well as they; and ſome of them were preſent at the forming of it in *Scotland*. But afterwards, oppoſing the Eſtabliſhment of Presbytery, they found a device to elude all the force of the Presbyterian Covenant, by the means of that clauſe in it, that Reformation intended was to be *according to the word of God*; which they conceived Presbyterian Government not to be. Some of them added, that the Covenant was ſo *attemper'd* on purpoſe to take them in; for *their Principles* they ſaid *were very well known when they took it*. But the Presbyterians utterly deny'd any ſuch thing, that they knew any principles of theirs that were contrary to Presbytery; and the Aſſembly of Divines

Feb. 1. 1643.

Aug. 19. *Oct.* 20. *Feb.* 20.

Grand. Debat. p. 89. 90, 91, &c.

in

p. 108. &c. in their First Conference with the dissenting Brethren, urge the Honour of this p. 20. Presbyterian Parliament as an argument against the Toleration of the Independents, because that in so doing, the *Parliament should grant Liberty to destroy, and pull down, what themselves are endeavouring to set up.* Now How there should be no Presbyterians who set up Presbytery, how they were Episcopals that destroy'd Episcopacy, is (I must confess) too hard a Riddle for a man of a plain understanding; unless one may think that Mr. *B.* gives this Bishop-destroying Parliament the Title of Episcopal, as the *Romans* honour'd several of their Generals with the Titles of those Nations they had overcome: or else that Mr. *B.* speaks by a figure, too frequent, though not very decent in History call'd *Fiction.*

As to the particulars, with which Mr. *B.* concludes this Chapter I have so long dwelt upon, of the Parliaments Army, Generals, Lord Lieutenants, Assembly of Divines being Episcopals and Conformists, I had rather any body else should disprove than I: not that it is so difficult a matter, for who that can remember so long, or can read English does not know the contrary? But because I am unwilling to renew the memory of so unpleasant and odious things; and heartily wish, that as our Gracious King pass'd an Act of Oblivion for those matters, so they who enjoy the benefit of that act of Grace would suffer us to for-

get

get the occaſion of it, or ceaſe to preſume that we have ſo far loſt all memory and ſenſe that we do not know the ſame things when we ſee them acted over again: But however Mr. *B.* informs us of the Original of the late Rebellion, I am ſure there was a time when we had a very different account of things; there was a time when the Presbyterians and Independents contended who ſhould have thegreateſt ſhare of the Glory of having carry'd on that cauſe; and there is one who is very particular in this matter on the behalf of the Presbyterians, to whom I refer the Reader for his ſatisfaction.

Baſtwick of Independ. p. 624. & ſeq.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

A short View of the other Governments set up in opposition to Episcopacy.

IF eminent places or offices, as they give authority and jurisdiction, could likewise secure those that are possess'd of them from errors in Administration; if any character or order could so Consecrate the person that bears it, as to exempt him from the Common condition of Humane frailty, and from a possibility of being wicked; the world must needs be happy, by submitting to such a constitution, and then Schism and Sedition would have no Pretext. But if after all the Accessions of authority and honour, men retain their nature and their manners, and are subject to passions as they were before, it is no wonder if all degrees and Denominations can furnish Numerous instances, of vice and infamy, and the more eminent any order is, the more frequent examples of evil men, it commonly affords: For the blemishes of such persons are more Conspicuous, and expos'd to publick view and observation, and the eyes of

of all men are fix'd upon them, ſo as they will quickly diſcern what is amiſs, nor are they leſs forward to cenſure their miſcarriages. Beſides it is poſſible that the Governing part may not always conſiſt of the beſt men, for ambition makes men Induſtrious in the purſuit of power, and goes a ſhorter and generally a more effectual, though leſs direct way to obtain it. And when they are in poſſeſſion, they begin to diſcover that temper they before Artificially concealed, and become more open, ſince they have leſs reſtraint. Laſtly even Power it ſelf is a great temptation, and an eminent private virtue has often times loſt it ſelf in the Exerciſe of Authority, as weak heads grow giddy when they are plac'd upon a height.

But however it comes to paſs, ſo it is, that there is no ſort of Government whether of Church or State, which any one that has a mind to diſgrace it, may not ſhew to have been in the hands of very infamous Perſons; and that the beſt that have poſſeſs'd it were not without their faults. If one have a mind to Reproach Monarchy there are *Nero*'s and *Caligula*'s enough; nay *Auguſtus* and *Trajan*, who are reckoned the beſt of that rank, had great and ſome inexcuſable faults: If one be inclin'd to raile againſt Commonwealths: the Ingratitude of *Athens* or *Rome* or *Carthage* towards their beſt friends and preſervers will furniſh him with Infinite matter. If one would *Diſgrace* Epiſcopacy, Church Hiſtory is full of evil contentious

ous Bishops, *Paulus Samosatenus*, *Eusebius Nicomed*, *Nestorius*, *Dioscorus*, and innumerable others: and the most Orthodox and holy were not without their blemishes. *Theophilas*, *Cyril*, *Epiphanius* had very undecent heats. Nay the Apostles themselves had a *Judas*, and the rest of them were not free from misunderstandings, which must needs give great offence to the Church: What shall we do then in this case? Shall we submit to no Government that has been prophan'd by evil administration? shall we be of no Church that has any mixture of the world? Shall we renounce Monarchy because we have read of Tyrants? or throw down Episcopacy, because some of that order have been unworthy of it? By this reason we must have no Government or order at all, or as the Apostle infers, *we must go out of the world.* But since our necessities require some kind of order, and there can no number of men live by any Common Rule, whether of Religion or Law, without authority plac'd in some hands or other to enforce it; and since God himself was pleased to appoint the kind of Government under which his Church was to be; notwithstanding that evil men might creep into the office, we remain still under an Obligation to submit our selves to it, and it is not in our power to alter that constitution. This Mr. *B.* and all the Dissenters will easily grant, and therefore they say that they contend only for the Primitive Institution of Church Government.

ment. Be it so: yet this long deduction of reproach and accusation does not prove any thing to the prejudice of the office; and this notwithstanding, Episcopacy may be the Church Government of the Apostles setling; for those things that fill Mr. *B.*'s Indictment against Bishops are the faults of the men not of the Office, and the same miscarriages may be discover'd in other kinds of Church Government that are not Episcopal. And since every project is more plausible, and seems to have fewer inconveniencies in the *Idea* than in the use; lest any one for want of experience, or History, may think Presbytery, or any Church Government that is not Episcopal to be subject to no abuse or Disorders, I will give a short account of the Rise and Progress of that form of Government, that has obtain'd in such of the Reform'd Churches as have cast off their Bishops; and shew that they have suffer'd under the same Calamities, that had befallen Episcopal Churches, and are guilty of most of the same things, as requiring subscriptions, Conformity, *&c.* as our Bishops against whom all this History, and bitterness is directed.

It is not yet a Hundred and fifty years that the Church has known any other Government but Episcopal; and the newer Models of Church Polity have obtain'd but in a small part even of the Reform'd Churches; and that in some places under Persecuting Princes, who more effectually keep under the Tares

Tares in the field of the Church, prevent exceſſes, and Unite the ſuffering Church, than any ſort of Church Government or Diſcipline whatſoever: yet the Hiſtories even of theſe Churches can furniſh too many inſtances of Tumult and diſorder, of Hereſies Schiſms, and contentions, of Wars, and Deſolations: and if this cannot be drawn into any argument againſt the Presbyterian way, there is leſs reaſon it ſhould be urg'd againſt Epiſcopacy, that for ſo long time obtain'd over the Univerſal Church: which under this conſtitution, had *paſs'd through fire and water*, and then was brought *into a wealthy place*, through diſtreſſes, and Perſecutions, through all the encouragements of wealth and power. And in ſhort, through all the Tryals that can be made by all the differences of outward condition, and Circumſtances.

They who fancy a time when the Church had no Biſhops, do repreſent it as then full of diſcord, and Diſtraction, (*I am of Paul, and I of Apollo, and I of Cephas.*) So that as, they ſay, it was neceſſary for the preſervation of peace and Unity to appoint one perſon over the reſt: and if the Presbyterian parity had any place in the Primitive times as ſome do imagine, it muſt needs have been an intolerable kind of Government, ſince all on the ſudden it was Univerſally aboliſh'd; it muſt have given ſtrange occaſion of offence when all the Chriſtian Churches in the world ſhould conſpire to Abro-

Abrogate this Polity, and to destroy all the memory and footsteps of it, so that in the lamentable distractions which the Church fell into afterwards under Bishops, none should so much as propose this way of relief, by returning to their Ancient Government; and the people that were so harrass'd with perpetual contentions about their Bishops must either think that there could be no Church where there was no Bishop, or else that Presbyterian parity, or a Popular Church Government would occasion yet greater mischiefs than those they suffer'd. That the inconveniences are not less, will appear from the experience of such Churches as have cast off Episcopacy, some of which, (at leastwise a good number of very understanding men in them,) do at time this wish that they might be govern'd by Bishops, and conceive it to be the only remedy for their divisions.

In the beginning of the Reformation those Eminent Instruments whom God was pleas'd to employ in that work, were so wholly taken up with preaching, and writing against those gross errors and superstitions which had cover'd the face of Christianity, that they had little or no leisure to look after Discipline or Government; and did do the work of Evangelists, rather than Governours of the Church. But when they saw to what mischiefs the want of Government and discipline expos'd the Reform'd Churches, and were thereby convinced that there must be build-

Beza in vit. Calvini. J. Lasitius de Discip. Frat. Bohem. Calvin. Ep. ad fratr Bohem. Eccles. Bohem. ad Ang. Paræn.

ing up as well as pulling down; then they began ſeriouſly to conſider of ſome Eccleſiaſtical Polity: For many had joyn'd with them in pulling down Superſtition and Papal Tyranny, who, when they began to diſcover their opinions more particularly, became intolerable, and advanc'd ſuch doctrines, as did not only deſtroy Chriſtianity, but all Government and ſociety. Theſe by good providence were neither Biſhops, nor Epiſcopal men, but againſt all ſort of Church Government and order, and while there is any of this leaven remaining, let what ſort of Government you pleaſe obtain, there will never be an end of Schiſm and Sedition. For if Epiſcopacy be Aboliſh'd, what ever is eſtabliſh'd in its Room, will be accounted by ſuch men every whit as Anti-chriſtian; and Presbyterian Claſſes and Synods, or Congregational Epiſcopacy will have no fairer quarter; for theſe will admit no Government, no Law, but that which will permit every one to do what he pleaſes; and that will ſet up a State of Grace juſt like *Hobbs* his ſtate of nature. It is very much to be fear'd, that this is the moſt prevailing principle among our Anti-Epiſcopal Diſſenters. And if out of ſuch inconſiderable beginnings they increas'd ſo faſt when the fences of our Church had been once taken away, as not only to ruin all projects of unity and Eſtabliſhment, but to poſſeſs themſelves of the Government; what may we expect now when they are form'd

Muntzer. Swenckfeld &c.

form'd into conſiderable parties, and outnumber thoſe of the Claſſical and Parochial Presbyterians; that is, all that are for any ſort of ſettlement that may be ſuited to the Circumſtances of this Nation? What may we not have Reaſon to fear, if the Laws which give check to their Inſolences were once taken away? And if they ſhould be taken in under the Notion of Proteſtants? A diſhonour from which it has pleas'd God hitherto to preſerve that name, according to the prayers of the firſt Reformers, who dreaded the growth of Sects, no leſs than the return of Popery it ſelf.

But beſides that Hereſie may ſpring where there are no Biſhops, as there were none in the Reformation, when thoſe Monſters firſt appear'd; There can be alſo bitter contentions about Religion, where Biſhops have nothing to do. *Luther*, and *Caroloſtadius* were no Biſhops, and yet they could quarrel, and diſturb the Reformation they had in hand with their Jarres. "*Caroloſtadius* "in *Luthers* Abſence Reform'd the Church "of *Wittenberg*, took away Images, Auri- "cular Confeſſion, *&c.* Which *Luther* took offence at, as being done without his Authority, or advice, which was *the beginning of the Sacramentarian War*: and *M. Adams* blames them both in theſe words, *viſus eſt uterque cupidior Gloriæ*. *Luther* was angry that any body ſhould ſet up himſelf a new maſter in a place where he was ſo much concerned, and could not indure, *Ordinationes ſuas in*

M. Adams in vit. Caroloſt.

Populo pressâ mea authoritate erigi : And this contention was so Exasperated that after a Conference, *Carolostadius* was Banished from *Turingia* by the Elector of *Saxonie*'s order, and the instigation of *Luther*; and some other Ministers were turn'd out of their places upon the same Account: and the sufferer did not spare to render all this Treatment as Invidious as he could, and therefore writes a Letter to the people of *Orlamund*, Subscribed A. *Bodenstein, non Auditus, non Convictus, à Martino Luthero Ejectus*: If Bishops or their Councils had been concern'd in this, what Bitter Reflections should we have upon *the Prelatical persecuting Spirit*? But it seems other men as well as Bishops have passions, and may disturb the Church: Yet we are not to aggravate, but to cover as much as we can the frailties of great persons, and to retain still a Reverence for the Authority of their Offices, and their Personal Excellences.

But whereever the *Lutheran* Reformation was received, Diocesan Episcopacy soon became the Church Government; and I believe it will be found to have preserv'd those Churches in as great peace and Unity, if not more, than those had that were Governed without Bishops. The Churches of *Sweden* and *Denmark* never knew what Schism or Heresie was, but by reading or hear-say: and those of *Germany*, though something more disquieted, yet it was seldom from within, but by Projects of Union with other

other Churches under a different kind of Polity, as well as of different opinions in some points of Religion: It is to be wish'd that the Churches of the *Ausburg* Confession, as they took care to preserve the Antient form of Church Governmet, had been also a little more careful in the point of Ordination: For their Bishops, though they have the same authority with Diocesans, yet were at first ordain'd but by Presbyters; and the Principles of those Churches touching the right of ordination are so loose, that I believe those of the Presbyterian Discipline will hardly allow them. *Hunnius* defending their Ordinations, says, the power is in the Church diffusive; and that it may be conveyed, not only by Bishops or Presbyters, but by Deacons, or any body else if the Church think fit: and I am afraid the Practice of some of those Churches is not otherwise to be justifi'd.

But before this *Lutheran* Reformation, was that of the *Bohemians*; not that of the *Calixtins* only, but the *Unitas fratrum Bohemorum*; whose Churches were govern'd by Diocesan Bishops; and where Discipline was so far from being Impossible, notwithstanding the Dioceses were very large, that they were perhaps the best Govern'd Churches in the world: *Bucer* speaking of this Government, says, *hac verò est Cœlestis potius, quam Ecclesiastica in Terris* Hierarchia, and *Calvin* was so taken with this Government, as well as Discipline, that he looks upon their Go-

Commenii. Hist. Eccl. Slav. p. 32.

Ep. ad Pastor. Bohem. verning and ordaining Pastors as no inconsiderable blessing, *Neque Vero parvo est estimandum quod tales habent Pastores a quibus Regantur & Ordinentur*: and those were their Bishops, as may be seen in that Account they gave of themselves in *Ratio Disciplinæ Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate fratrum Bohemorum*, printed at *Lesna*, 1632. and afterwards at the *Hague* by *Commenius*, 1660. Whoever would know more of these Episcopal Diocesan Churches may consult *Lasitius*, or the short Accout of *Commenius*, the then only Remaining Bishop of those Churches. And these had such Bishops as were not only invested with the full Authority of Dioceſans over several Churches, but such as had been ordain'd according to the Canons of the Ancient Church, by the Bishops of the *Waldenses*, who derived themselves by an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles.

Stephanus. accito Episcopo altaro, &c. Commen. Hist. p. 24.

It is time now to Return to the Principal Design, which was to shew, how no other form of Government can secure the Church from Heresie, Schism, and Contention, any more than Episcopacy; and that those Churches which put themselvs under new Models of Government and discipline, have been excercis'd with Schism, Heresie, and Sedition, no less than those under Episcopacy.

The Churches which follow'd the Reformation of *Zuinglius* had at first no Government nor discipline that was properly. Eccle-

cleſiaſtical. All authority reſted in the Civil Magiſtrate, and the Miniſters did only preach and adminiſter the Sacraments without excluding any. It was from this practice (I ſuppoſe) that the Divines of that way came to ſpeak generally ſo looſely of the power of the Keys, making it all to conſiſt in preaching, without any regard to Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. But the Licentiouſneſs that followed this defect of Diſcipline and Government, ſoon open'd the eyes of the Miniſters, who Complain'd paſſionately of the Increaſe of Libertiniſm under pretence of Reformation; and endeavour'd to make the people ſenſible, that there is more required to make a true Proteſtant, than to Renounce the Pope, and Tranſubſtantiation; and that the Notion of a Church did imply ſomething more than a Company of ſound believers met together to hear a Sermon. *Calvin*, a perſon of extraordinary Abilities, was one of the firſt that obſerv'd and Complain'd of this defect in the Reformation; and endeavour'd to Remedy it in the Church where he was Paſtour, by Eſtabliſhing an Eccleſiaſtical Government: and that perhaps not ſuch as he thought moſt perfect and abſolute, but ſuch as the Circumſtances of the place would bear. The people of *Geneva* were ſufficiently prejudic'd againſt Epiſcopacy, having turn'd out their Biſhop, who had likewiſe a title to be their Prince; and to have talk'd of Introducing a Biſhop there, would

Beze vit Calv.

would have sounded as harsh as the mention of a King would have done to the Romans after the expulsion of *Tarquin*. But suppose they could have been Reconcil'd to the name and the office, upon assurance it should not exceed its proper bounds; it is possible *Calvin* might look upon it as too Invidious a proposal to his Church, for fear of being understood to recommend himself; and to affect dominion over his Brethren; Episcopacy then seeming Impracticable in that place, he devised a form of Government that should be more popular and consequently more acceptable the Ministers were to be all of equal Authority, and were in the first place to govern the Church, and with them a certain number out of the Laity under the Title of ruling Elders were to have a share in the Church Government; and this mix'd Council without any Bishop was to exercise all Ecclesiastical Censures and Jurisdiction. One would think this would be unexceptionable, but it proved otherwise; for this frame was no sooner begun, but it was presently broken in pieces, and the Author banish'd: But his Reputation abroad made them reflect upon this Treatment with shame, and desire him to return: With him this Government was restor'd, which was so far from remedying all disorders that it became the occasion of some very great ones; and the State of that Church as it is discrib'd by *Calvin* in his letters to his friends, and by *Beza* in his life,

was

was most lamentably distracted; and this Government was made odious in the beginning of it by very harsh, and rigorous proceedings. The Expulsion of *Castellio* a man of Great and Polite Learning, was too Invidious. The opposing of the Senate in the Election of a Minister to such a point of heat and Contention, as to endanger the peace of the City, wanted little of Sedition. *Calvins* quarrels with *Perinus* came to that height, that the Council of the City had almost cut one anothers throats about it. *Siquidem eousque semel in ipsâ curiâ deventum est, coactis Diacosiis, & pene exertis jam Ensibus parum abfuerit quin mutuis cædibus ipsam Curiam cruentarent.* And what was the reason of so dangerous a Contention? No Article of the Creed was in danger; It was not for any part of the faith that they contended so fiercely: the greatest occasion of all this stir was some Recreations, as Dancing, which the People of *Geneva* were addicted to, and *Calvin* forbad upon pain of Excomunication, this bred the first discontents. *Perinus* being Captain of the people, and perhaps a lover of Liberty, began to oppose this Tyranny, and to charge *Calvin* with false Doctrine; two of the Ministers joyn'd with him, and were turn'd out, as Scandalous and Seditious: and so by degrees the Contention was improv'd to that desperate point that the Common Council of the City had almost destroyed one another. I might add a great many more instances

Beza vit. Calv.

ſtances of the Tumults occaſion'd by this Diſcipline; and ſhew how diſtracted the condition of *Geneva* was during the time of *Calvin*, meerly upon the account of this form of Eccleſiaſtical Government; But whoever deſires to ſee more may have Recourſe to *Calvin*'s life written by *Beza*.

But as to the Rigours of that Diſcipline, I ſuppoſe the Higheſt Tyranny of Epiſcopacy can hardly match them. One was put to death at *Geneva* for Libelling *Calvin*: I wiſh the Majeſty of Kings were ſo Sacred to the men of this way. Another was baniſhed the City for preaching againſt Predeſtination, a hard puniſhment for weakneſs of underſtanding. *Servetus* was burn'd for Hereſie; by the Inſtigation of *Calvin* and the Miniſters of *Geneva*, and ſuch others of the Neighbour-hood as they could engage in that cauſe; which occaſioned no ſmall diſputes between them, and ſome other more Moderate Divines: the Caſe of *Ithacius* and the bloody Biſhops, as Mr. *B.* calls them, was not half ſo odious: for this Heretick *Servetus* was burn'd for opinions only, the *Priſcillianiſts* for lewd abominable Practices beſides.

Nor did *Geneva* only feel the evil effects of this unepiſcopal Government, but it had in a little while an unhappy Influence upon the Neighbouring Churches of *Switzerland*. *Eraſtus* having publiſhed his *Theſes* of Excommunication, was confuted by *Beza*; yet there remain'd ſtill ſeveral Miniſters diſſatisfi'd; as

as *Bullinger*, *Gualter* and diverſe others. This occaſion'd very great jealouſies between the ſeveral Parties, and it had almoſt come to a Rupture. The Churches of the *Palatinate* were no leſs ſhaken with this new Controverſie, and the zealots for this Government and diſcipline took all occaſions publickly to maintain them; but the Prudence of that Prince prevented the miſchiefs which threatned his Churches from this queſtion. *Bullinger* in a Letter dated *March.* 10. 1574. and *Gualter* in ſome Letters of his to the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, and ſeveral other eye-witneſſes do ſufficiently teſtifie the Lamentable condition of thoſe Reformed Churches, and the Confuſion which Presbyterian Government brought upon them. *Vid. Bullingeri Ep. cum Eraſti. Theſ. Editas.*

From *Geneva* this Government was brought into the Churches of *France*. But what ſucceſs it had there, the Miſerable diſtractions and wars that preſently follow'd do ſufficiently declare: I do not charge all that Tragedy upon this Government; but it ſeems it cannot prevent Tumults, and Sedition, and War, any more than Epiſcopacy: For with what violence the Reformation was carried on in many parts of that Kingdom, is not unknown to any that has but look'd into the Hiſtories of thoſe times. There were ſome very wiſe men who underſtood the condition of that Kingdom, of opinion, that had the Reformation there proceeded with more Moderation,

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and been content to have left the Ancient Government, and some observances of unquestionable Antiquity, that Kingdom was in a great disposition to receive it: and in probability all the following Wars, and bloodshed about Religion would have been prevented.

That the Reformed Churches of *France* had no considerable differences between them, is owing not so much to the Constitution of their Government, as to their Common danger: which United them closer than all the bands of Discipline and Government. Besides, when they obtained some Edicts in favour of their Religion, they Extended them only to such as their Churches would own; and so every dissenter from them, was left to the Rigour of the Laws against Hereticks, and enjoy'd no benefit of that Protection which the Reformed Churches were to have. Upon this account the *Lutherans* (of whom there were many in that Kingdom in the beginning of the Reformation) were oblig'd either to Conform to the Rule of those Churches, or to leave the Country: and these necessities kept them a long while Undivided. Besides this, the affairs of that Reformation were manag'd, not so much by their Ministers, as by the great Persons who were the Heads of that party: and their Synods were imploy'd not so much in making Ecclesiastical Canons; as in taking effectual measures for their mutual defence and preservation; in receiving

assurances

assurances of Protection from foreign Princes; in making Alliances; in providing for Peace and War, so that they might be more properly call'd Parliaments than Synods, although they had their Politick Assemblies besides.

La vie de Mr. Du Plessis. Mornay. p. 119, 120, 123, 124, 231, 280, & 345.

And yet they were not without their differences about Religion among themselves. Some Ministers starting new and unprofitable questions in Divinity, their remedy was no other than that of the Ancients, to condemn such opinions as they judged to be dangerous by the Authority of their Synods: and they descended to take notice of very trifling subtilties some times, such being unregarded, would perhaps have died of themselves. The Synod of *Saumur* condemned a Minister of *Poitou* for questioning the Humanity of Christ when he lay in the Grave, and the same Assembly condemned the Doctrine of a *Suifs*, not under their jurisdiction, about justification by works after Regeneration, a Controversie meerly about words; another Synod at *Gap.* declared against the Doctrine of *Piscator* about Justification, which Alarm'd some of the Reformed Churches, but the Prudence of *Du Plessis* prevented any mischief that might have enlu'd, by stopping the proceedings of that Synod. P. D. *Moulin* and *Tilenus* happen'd to have some difference of a dangerous nature, about the Mystery of the Incarnation: and notwithstanding these great Professours had learning and distinctions enough, (which

Mr.

Mr. *B.* says the Ancients that first mov'd this Controversie wanted,) yet they could by no means agree about it; and disputes about *Person*, *Nature*, *Properties* had like to have endanger'd the peace of those Churches. But how was it prevented? The Litigants were too considerable to be pass'd by with Contempt, and the subject of the difference was of so high a nature, that it ought not to be left to the hazard of so slight a remedy: How then was this Controversie decided? Not by Niceness of Distinction; not by distinguishing nature into 9 sorts, or spliting of Notions; But the wise *Du Plessis* having got their Papers into his hands burn'd them altogether: and the fire (without making distinction between the Orthodox, and Heretical fence) put an end to that Controversie. But yet it was not quite ended, for it began to revive afterwards out of its own Ashes, and so made some little flutering, but was compos'd again by the same Person; to whose prudence the Unity of that Church is in great measure to be ascribed, as the Instrument of the Divine gooness towards them: for after his death the peace of those Churches was very much endangered by a new Controversie about Universal Redemption, and the Nature of Original sin; and the Dissention was not far from a Schism. *Cameron* though he had clear'd himself of all suspition of Heterodoxy at his promotion to the Professourship of *Saumur*, had the bad fortune after his death to fall into

Vide Du Plessi. p. 388.

into ſuſpition of Hereſie: and his Scholars and followers were brought into no ſmall troubles: What had been allow'd by the Synod of *Dort* as ſound Doctrine in the Engliſh Divines, was now call'd in queſtion in *France*, and what was approv'd in *Camero* while he was alive, became dangerous and Heretical after his death. It is hardly to be imagin'd, what great contention this little, and to ſome, Imperceptible difference did create; or how many Synods it employ'd, *Amyraldus*, *Dallee*, *Blondel*, and ſeveral others were look'd upon as little better than Hereticks; and their Doctrine about Original ſin condemn'd in a National Synod at *Charenton*, and an Abjuration of it requir'd by all thoſe that were to enter into holy orders; and a ſtrict Injunction was layd on all Miniſters upon pain of all the Cenſures of the Church, not to preach any other wiſe of this point than according to the Common opinion. And all this ſtir, as *Blondel* deduces it, was rais'd from little private quarrels between ſome of the Profeſſours; and from the diſcontents of the Univerſity of *Montauban* that they of *Saumur* ſhould be favour'd too much in the diſtribution of ſuch Penſions as the Churches furniſh'd for the maintenance of their Univerſities; and they thought themſelves wrong'd and undervalued becauſe their Salaries were leſs: We ſee that leſſer matters than a Biſhoprick can ſometimes diſturb the Church; and that others as well as Biſhops

Acts Authentiques per Blondel.

p. 50.

ſhops can proſecute their private piques to the hazard of the Publick peace; and that there will be contentions where there is no Epiſcopacy.

If we Conſult the Hiſtory of the Reform'd Churches in the *United Netherlands*, We ſhall be farther confirm'd that Hereſie, Schiſm, and contention, may ariſe under other forms of Church Government as well as Epiſcopal; and the parity of Miniſters cannot remove all occaſions of Striſe, and Diſturbance; and many eminent men of that Church are ſaid to be very ſenſible of this truth, and to look upon Epiſcopacy as the moſt effectual remedy in the world for their Diviſions. The Church Government of that Country was not eſtabliſh'd without great trouble and difficulty; and occaſion'd no ſmall diſturbance; the Miniſters taking an authority to themſelves of ſetling the Church as they thought fit without the conſent and Concurrence of the Magiſtrates. The firſt Synod they held, was at *Dort*, aſſembl'd without the permiſſion of the Civil Authority; where the *Heidelberg* Catechiſm was impos'd upon all Miniſters; and they were farther obliged to ſubſcribe the *Netherland Confeſſion*, and to ſubmit themſelves to the Presbyterian Government. (It ſeems the Biſhops are not the only Church Governours in the world that require ſubſcriptions and Canonical obedience,) Nor were the Miniſters only bound to ſubſcribe, but all the Lay Elders, and Deacons, were to declare

Brandt. Hiſt. vande Reform. l. xi.

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Assent and Consent to the Articles of Discipline. The Civil Magistrate was very much offended with these Proceedings and would by no means confirm, no not so much as take into Consideration the acts of this Synod: but said they would take care of Religion themselves, and appoint Commissioners to put in, and put out Preachers as they should think Expedient; and as for their Consistories and Classes, they declared they knew of no Power they had. The Ministers on the other side Preach'd up their own authority, and vilifi'd the States, calling them in derision Stakes. But the effect of this Contention about Presbyterian Government was very sad; for while they were quarreling about Jurisdiction the *Spaniards* made great Advances, and took several Towns in *Holland*.

The Synod of *Middlebrough* An. 1581. was held likewise without the Magistrates leave, and the Historian observes that the Ecclesiasticks were thought by several to have extended their Jurisdiction here a little too far, and to the prejudice of the Civil power. Here they distributed their Churches, throughout the Country, digesting them into Classes, and Classes into Synods. Here likewise they excluded the Magistrates from any share in the Election of Church Officers, and oblig'd all Ministers, Elders, Deacons, Professors of Divinity, and School-masters, to subscribe the *Netherland* Confession; which was little so known there, that several mem-

bers of this Synod had never seen it, and began to enquire what Confession of 37 Articles it was that they talk'd of. They order'd likewise that the form of Excommunication should be, *I deliver thee up to Satan*; something more harsh than the Anathema's of Bishops and their Councils. Here also they condemn'd *Kaspers Colhaes* Minister of *Leyden* for unsound Doctrine. But he would not stand to the judgment of this Synod, that was Judge and Party both, and this occasion'd strange disorders in the Church of *Leyden*, which continu'd still a kindness for their Pastor notwithstanding this condemnation, and the Excommunication of the Synod at *Harlem*. However prevail'd they so far, that he was turn'd out of his Ministry, and forc'd to betake himself to a mean employment. This caus'd great discontents among the Common people, many of them fell off to other opinions, and there was no Communion administred in that City for a year and a half; and when there was a Communion in the year 82 there were not a hundred persons present at it: If these Synods had been Episcopal what Clamour might we have expected? What Animadversions? But others can disturb the Church as well as Bishops.

The Synod held at *Harlem* did but encrease their confusion. For by the Excommunication of *Colhaes* and other proceedings, they brought all things to that confusion, that the Prince of *Orange* told the States roundly, that unless they took some care to settle

ſettle the Church, which was daily more and more diſtracted by the Presbyterial Synods, they muſt expect that the Reform'd Religion, and their Country, would be unavoidably loſt. They according to his advice empower'd Commiſſioners to ſettle the affairs of Religion; which eſtabliſhment the *North-Holland* Miniſters in a Synod at *Amſterdam* publickly proteſted againſt. At *Dort*, *Herman Herberts* Miniſter of the place was accuſed of having caus'd a Book of D. *George* to be be printed, which he abſolutely deny'd: and the proceedings were ſo extraordinary, that one of the Commiſſiners that ſate with the Claſſes upon that occaſion, ſaid that he had read much of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, but that he never was in any place where he ſaw ſo lively and effectual a repreſentation of it as here. *An.* 1586. A National Synod was call'd to ſit at the *Hague* by the order of the *Earl* of *Leiceſter*, without the States; and here they inſiſted upon their Eccleſiaſtical authority, and excluded the Magiſtrate from any voyce in the chuſing of Church Officers; That a National Synod ſhould meet every third year, without the Magiſtrates leave; and ſubſcription was more ſtrictly preſs'd upon the Miniſters under pain of being turn'd out of their Churches. *H. van Naſſau.*

But theſe were but ſlight differences in reſpect of that which follow'd, that fatal Schiſm I mean occaſion'd by the *Arminian* Controverſie. The ſeeds of it had lain in that

Church from the beginning; and *Colhaes*, *Duyrhuis*, *Herberts*, *Uytenbert*, and divers others, had declared themselves against the received confession and Catechism of those Churches long before *Arminius*. But his authority and learning bore up against the Current of the contrary Doctrine, that had overborn such as before that had oppos'd it: and now, the condition of those Churches was most deplorable, for several years together there was nothing but perpetual Dispute, and Clamour; Conference after Conference; and Synod after Synod; Appeal, upon Appeal. At last it came to Tumult and Sedition; to Confusion and Blood-shed. Ministers were turn'd out of their charges, some Banish'd, others set upon by the Rabble, and in danger to be torn in pieces. Nothing can be imagined more distracted than the state of those Churches was for a long while together. At last, after all the interposing and good offices of other Reform'd Churches, but without effect, a general Synod was resolved upon, where the Remonstrants were condemn'd, and the Civil Magistrate seconded this sentence by another more severe, whereby they Banish'd the Ministers that would not subscribe, many of them were imprison'd, and in short Bishops could not have procur'd greater rigour and severity; which here seem'd to be more grievous, where every body else had liberty of Conscience, and *Jews* were allow'd a publick exercise of their Religion.

See the preface to the Acts of the Synod of Dort.

Vid. vit. Episcopii.

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And yet these very points in difference, that not only rent these Churches in pieces, but shook those of *France*, who confirm'd the Decrees of the Synod of *Dort*, and turn'd out such Ministers as favoured the condemn'd Doctrine, and requir'd subscriptions to the contrary opinions, of such as were to be admitted into the Clergy; these points (I say,) have not had the same unhappy influence upon some other Churches that were Episcopal. Men in our Church have taught very differently of these matters, and yet the Unity of the Church hath been still preserv'd notwithstanding this difference of opinions: which shews that Episcopal government is not so subject to Schism, as Mr. *B.* would make the world imagine, and to say the truth ours has been troubled with no other such difference but what hath been made in opposition to the very form of Government it self; and there is no wonder if it seems so difficult to heal it, since the Church can no otherwise satisfie these men than by destroying the whole frame of its Government and order, and it is strange any should expect it, that did not believe all those under the rule of the Church to be Hypocrites. These men talk much of Ceremonies and Liturgy; but this is the least of the difference, though it be most pretended, because most useful to render the Governours of the Church odious, for shutting men out of it for such Circumstances as these. This makes most noise, as a false

Alarm commonly does; but the real design is upon the Government. Therefore those that fancy any Accomodation practicable upon any allowances in this part, seem to my apprehension to mistake the disease; for Alas! It is not accomodation but Victory that these men aim at. But to return to the Churches of *Holland*, whose Schism gave occasion to this digression.

After the Synod of *Dort*, though all means were us'd to suppress the Remonstrants, yet they remain still in separate Assemblies, and the unhappy breach continues to this day, without any probability of being made up.

Vid. Spanhem. Ep. ad Amic.

When they had tir'd themselves and the world with this Controversie, they were diverted with new matter of dispute; the names of *Voetius* and *Cocceius*, rather than any difference between their Doctrine, disturb'd again the peace of those Churches. And though the ground of the quarrel is scarce perceivable, yet it is hardly to be imagin'd how great the Animosities are. This indeed never came to a formal Schism, yet it has divided those Churches into formal parties; and in some occasions the quarrel seems of more than ordinary consequence; and has great influence upon the Promotions of the Ministry; and the Affections of several Cites are determin'd to this or that party.

And as these Presbyterian Churches have been afflicted with Schism and contentions, so they have been sensible of the mischiefs of Heresie, and labour more than any part of

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the Christian world under the Infamy of them. Here the Ministers have no great Revenues, nor dignities, nor Power; and here are no Patriarchs, nor Bishops; and yet Heresies makes a shift to thrive; *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Menonists*, *Labadyists*, and diverse others; they are neglected, no general Councils disturb the enjoyment of their errors, and yet they abound, and are pertinacious.

Nor is it a wonder they take such deep root in Presbyterian Churches; for of late, like Storks, they have affected a republican Church above all others; and it is observable that in these last ages, there have been no Hereticks that have not been likewise Anti-Episcopal; and at the same time that they become enemies of the truth, they declare war against the Bishops who are the Guardians of it.

If it be objected that our Country swarms with this Vermin too, it ought to be considered from whence they came to be so rife among us. It was the taking away of Episcopacy that opened such a door to errors; and there were more Heresies started here in the space of four years after Bishops had been laid aside, if *Edwards* reckons right, than have been known in the Universal Church from the foundation of it to that time. And those that fall into Heresie here, do it commonly by degrees; They begin with Schism, and end in Enthusiasm and madness; first they are Presbyterians, and then, if that dispensation be not spiritual enough, they are improv'd in to Independents, and

from thence to the fifth Monarchy or Quakerism. All the extravagant Heresies among us are but the spawns of the first Schism, and the consequences of those Principles of Separation that draw them from the Communion of the Bishop.

The Church of *Scotland* has felt the Distractions occasion'd by this Parity of Ministers more than any of her Neighbours; and though it has not been divided by a formal Schism 'till of late, yet from the first setting up of this Government, it has been exercis'd with perpetual contentions, and Tumults, and Sedition, about Church Discipline. Mr. *B.* tells us that, *The Church of Scotland is an Eminent instance, that Churches which have no Bishops have incomparably less Heresie, Schism, wickedness, and more concord than we have here.* For the concord of that Church, it was much greater while it continu'd under Superintendents and Bishops, than it has been since *Andrew Melvil* disturb'd it with the Perfection of the *Geneva* Discipline and Government. For a long time after, all the Disputes about Religion were reduc'd into one point of Ecclesiastical Sovereign jurisdiction; which they disputed against the King and the Government, with such perpetual Seditions, and Treasons, as at last engag'd three Kingdoms in most unnatural and bloody Wars; which ended in the slavery of them all, and particularly of those that were the first Incendiaries, through the wise and just judgment of

Treatise of Episc. p. 1. p. 164.

of God. What Schiſm there aroſe in the late times, between the diſciplinarians, and the reſt; and what diſturbances the ſame ſort of men have given of late; is too well known to need a relation, and the field Conventicles ſtill witneſs. But becauſe Mr. *B.* would perſwade us that there is ſuch great concord to be found in Anti-Epiſcopal Churches, and particularly in this; I will give one Inſtance, that ſhall let the reader ſee how far this way is from eſtabliſhing a laſting Concord; and withal how this parity that is pretended, is really no more than a pretence, the leading men againſt Biſhops commonly aſſuming greater authority, and exerciſing it with greater Abſoluteneſs, and more Impatient of being oppos'd and contradicted, than any Biſhops who are legally Inveſted with power.

"There happen'd a great diviſion in the "Presbytery of St. *Andrews* about prefer- "ring a Miniſter to the Church of *Luchars*. "There were two pretenders, and *Melvil* "with a few more was for one, and the "reſt who were three times as many in "number, were for the other; *Melvil* look- "ing upon himſelf as an Apoſtle, and diſ- "daining to be overrul'd by the Majority "of the Presbytery, left the place, and "with his ſix Presbyters that follow'd him, "made another Synod by himſelf: and both "theſe Presbyters, like Anti-Popes, Iſſu'd "out their ſeveral pleaſures. The Gen- "tlemen of the Pariſh upon this were divi- "ded

Spotſwood. H. of Scot. l. 6.

"ded into factions; some holding with one, "and some with the other, which occasioned "great scandal: and the heats grew to that "height, that the Presbytery was forc'd to "be divided; one part of it to sit at St. "*Andrews*, the other at *Couper*; the one un- "der the Influence of *Melvil*, and the "other under that of *Th. Buchanan*; so hard it was for one *Presbyterial Diocese* to hold two Topping Presbyters. The observation that follows the relation of this difference in *Spotswood* is very remarkable:

p. 386. *Thus was that great strife pacifi'd; which many held to be Ominous, and that the Government which in the beginning did break forth into such Schisms, could not long continue; for this every man noted, That of all men none could worse endure Parity, and lov'd more to Command than they who had introduc'd it into the Church.* This sort of men did afterwards make not only a formal Schism, and insurrection against those Bishops plac'd over them by authority, but after that Episcopacy was abolish'd in *Scotland*, could be as little at peace among themselves. They were in the first place divided about the receiving the King, and the Conditions to be Impos'd upon him; and in this they proceeded even to the Excommunication of one another. After his Majesties Restauration, when Episcopacy was again establish'd in the Church: the Presbyterians who separated from the Communion of the Bishops, were divided yet among themselves some accepting

accepting the Kings Indulgence and Licence to Preach, others renouncing it as derogatory to the Kingdom of Jesus Christ: and upon this they parted Communion; Nor could these resolute Renouncers of Indulgence agree yet among themselves, about the measure of their Contempt of authority; some were content to Conventicle, and Preach against the Kings order, and carry their Contempt no farther; the others under *Cameron* were more fiercely Zealous, and thought themselves oblig'd by the Covenant to attempt the deposing of the King, as they manifested (besides their several Writings to that effect,) by two formal Rebellions: These are the fruits, this the Peace and Unity that Presbytery, and the Scotch Covenant produc'd, the Covenant so much Idolz'd once by our Presbyterians of *England*, and which notwithstanding all the Mischiefs that attended it here, and do still issue from it in *Scotland*, they are yet loth to renounce, though required so to do by all the Authority in the Nation.

But what is all this to Congregational Episcopacy? It is not Presbytery, but this that Mr. *B.* Contends for: He is for Bishops, and would only pare off the superfluities of their Dioceses, and reduce them to their first bounds. To which I answer: *First*, That Mr. *B.*'s. Congregational Bishop and Parish Presbyter is all one; and he has taken so much pains to prove it in his Treatise of Episcopacy, that it were an injury to his sincerity

ſincerity to queſtion his opinion of it. But *Secondly*, That there was ſome neceſſity to ſay all this of Presbyterian Governments being ſubject to Hereſies and Schiſms as well as Epiſcopal; becauſe Mr. *B.* himſelf had made the compariſon between them; and charg'd all Schiſms and Hereſies upon Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, as the fault of the conſtitution; it was therefore neceſſary to ſee how all ſorts of Governments of the Church, as well as of the State, may be diſturb'd by evil and factious men, and are ſubject to great inconveniences when they fall into evil hands. But then what Schiſms can be imputed to this Congregational way? This cannot well be anſwered without asking a queſtion: was this Congregational Epiſcopacy ever eſtabliſh'd in any Churches? If not, it will be as hard a matter to ſhew what miſchief, it has occaſion'd as it is to diſcover what Civil Wars happen'd in *Plato*'s Common-wealth, or to reckon the Differences of Sects of Philoſophers in the College of *Atlantis*. If this Government has been ſet up any where, it is but naming the time and place, and it may be that ſome account may be given of the Schiſms and Hereſies that moleſted it. Mr. *B.* contends it was the firſt, Apoſtolical, and Scripture conſtitution: and ſhews at large that a Church was but one Congregation, and a Biſhop could have but one Church. Well: but there were Schiſms and Hereſies then: and St. *Paul* makes frequent complaints of them. Or if this ſort of

of Government continu'd for ſome Centuries after, as Mr. *B.* would make it appear; it muſt be likewiſe granted that there never were greater and more Blaſphemous Hereſies than in thoſe times, and for Schiſms, they could not be avoided, it ſeems, and though a Dioceſe were but one Congregation; the Preſbyters could not agree who ſhould govern that, but divided it into ſeparate Aſſemblies. But to this Mr. *B.* Anſwers, *That the Multitude of Sects and Hereſies that ſprung up in the firſt and ſecond and third ages of the Church was no diſhonour to the form of Government then us'd in the Church, as ſhould encourage any man to diſlike or change it.* Why then does he endeavour to diſhonour Dioceſan Epiſcopacy upon this very reaſon? and why does he reproach it with the Schiſms and Hereſies that happen'd under that government? But no man can reaſon againſt Mr. *B.* better than himſelf does in the very ſame Paragraph; it is but taking away the word *Prelacy*, and putting in the ſtead of it *Congregational Epiſcopacy*, and then nothing can be more full to our purpoſe. *If it was Congregational Epiſcopacy that was us'd, then Swarms of Sects and Hereſies may come in notwithſtanding Congregational Epiſcopacy (even in better hands than yours). But if it was not Congregational Epiſcopacy that was then the Government* (but Dioceſan Epiſcopacy) *Hereſies are no more a ſhame to that Government now*: I wiſh Mr. *B.* had conſider'd this place when he conceiv'd the firſt deſign of his

2 *Diſpute about Ordination.* p. 329.

his *Church History*: perhaps he might have ſeen the Inconſequence of his deſign *to diſhonour Biſhops and their Councils*, from a long deduction of Schiſms and Hereſies which he lays at their door, and have forborn giving this juſt offence to all that have any real concern for the Honour of Chriſtian Religion, which is no leſs concern'd in all theſe diſgraces than Epiſcopacy.

Yet I ſhall willingly diſcharge Congregational Epiſcopacy from any Imputation of thoſe evils that diſturb'd the Church in the firſt times, and be content Mr. *B.* ſhould lay it all to the account of Dioceſan Government, which I ſhall ſhew at large in the next Chapter to have been the Conſtitution of the Primitive Churches; in the mean time, I muſt enquire a little farther after the Glorious fruit of this Congregational Epiſcopacy.

If the Ancient Church was quite a ſtranger to this kind of Epiſcopacy, it will be a harder matter to find it in latter ages, ſince Mr. *B.* tells us that Biſhopricks were enlarged ſo enormouſly in proceſs of time, that ſeveral Cathedrals were turn'd into Chapels, and inſtead of, one Congregation every Biſhop had ſeveral Scores and Hundreds: And the Reformation where it retain'd Biſhops, made them all Dioceſans, and ſet them over ſeveral Congregational Churches; thus the *Bohemians*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and ſome parts of *Germany*: beſides theſe three Kingdoms. Where they Aboliſh'd Epiſcopacy,

Government, they threw away the Titles too, so that if Mr. *B.*'s kind of Episcopacy obtain'd any where, it must be under another name, therefore that we may discover it, it will be necessary to give a short description of it, and then we may possibly find it to have acted under the disguise of another name.

This Congregational Bishop then, which Mr. *B.* makes so much a do about, is the same thing with an Elder, as he tells us, and takes great pains to prove it. 2. This Elder has no necessity of any ordination by any Bishop, or Elders; but having abilities, and inclination to exercise them in the service of the Church, he may Interpret it to be sufficient authority to preach, Administer the Sacraments, *&c.* Nay is oblig'd to do the Office of a Bishop or Elder. 3. That this Elder can Govern but one Congregation: and there may be more than one of such Bishops belonging to that one Congregation. 4. That this Congregation is not to be so great as that of *Israel*, that had 600000 men; but is to be restrain'd to the compass of personal Communion, in hearing, praying, and receiving the Sacraments. 5. That this Church and Bishop, is independent and is invested with all Ecclesiastical power within it self: So that no other Bishop or Synod has any power or Superiority over it but by its own consent: and then consequently no particular Congregation is obli'd to enter into any association at all: but may refuse

Treatise of Ep. 2. *Disp.* p. 164. 165. 1. *Disp.* throughout. *Treatise of Ep.* p. 33. 3. *Disp.* p. 347.

refuse to submit to any Synod: nay if it be left in this liberty and Independence by Christ, it ought not to engage with any associations as should be prejudicial to that original liberty: and consequently set and determin'd Synods are to be avoided, and since they are only prudential means of preserving good correspondence between neighbour Churches, it is enough, they should be occasional. And what is all this but the Picture of Independency; and the *Congregational Episcopacy* upon Examinations proves nothing else but *Congregational Eldership*. What a Healing constitution this is, I shall shew *first* by matter of fact. *Secondly* I shall shew the natural tendence of such a Government to endless discord and division, that the Schisms and Heresies that it has hatch'd were not accidental, but proceeded from the nature of the Government it self.

Case of the Church of Engl. p. 249.

1. Some derive this Congregational way from *Socinus*, who perhaps thought it the most suitable to his design of spreading the poyson of his Heresie, and to prevent all dangers that might threaten it from the condemnation of Synods; Especially considering the late Union that had been made between all the Reform'd Churches of the Greater and lesser *Poland* in the Synod of *Sendomiria*. Others deduce it from *Ramus* and *Morellus*, who plac'd all Ecclesiastical authority in the people; and by making the Government of the Church to be a *Democracy*, made way for Congregational Independence.

pendence. This put the French Churches to the trouble of ſeveral Synods, which condemned this Doctrine, as pernicious to the Unity of Chriſtian Churches, and derogating from the honour of Religion. Mr. *Thorndyke* conjectures, that it came over hither with *Ramus* his Philoſophy: *And that his credit in our Univerſities was the firſt means to bring this conceit in Religion among us: For about the time that he was moſt cryed up in them,* Brown *and* Barrow *publiſhed it.* And *R. Baly*, who indeavours to relieve the *Engliſh* Presbyterians from the imputation of having *begot this ill-faced Child*, (as he calls it) would fain alſo Father it upon *Morellius*, *who* (as he thinks) *learned from the Diſciples of* Munſter, *this Eccleſiaſtical Anarchy*:

Thorndyke's right of the Ch. p. 67.

Diſſwaſive, p. 12. 13.

But whoever were the Authors of it, (and none of thoſe yet named can give it any great reputation,) it is certain that the Fruits of it are to be found only amongſt our ſelves, where it happened to take root, and grow up into ſomething conſiderable.

The *Browniſts* or thoſe of the ſeparation, laid the firſt Foundations of *Independency* among us: and though they had ſo few followers at firſt, not exceeding one Congregation, ſo as not to have any occaſion of entering into any meaſures of a general Unity: yet they declared for the independence of Congregations, and that no Dioceſan Prelacy, or Presbytery had any Authority over Congregational Churches.

Rob. Brown, who gave the name to the *Brownists* (though *Bolton* had led that way to separation twenty years before) seems to have made the first step towards this Congregational way, but he speaks of it something more obscurely: *Who have the grace and office of watching and guiding? The Answer is, Some have this Charge together, which cannot be sundred: Some have their several charge over many Churches, some have charge but in one Church only: ——— How have some their charge and office together?* Ans. *There be Synods or the meetings of sundry Churches, where the weaker Churches seek for help to the stronger, for deciding or redressing of matter, or else the stronger look to them for redress: Who have their several charge over many Churches?* Ans. *Apostles, Prophets, Helpers or Evangelists:* Nor does he determine whether any may succeed to this general inspection or no.

Brown in the column intituled the state of Christians. 50. *Art* 51.

52.

Those that followed, delivered themselves with greater clearness upon this point: *Barrow* and *Greenwood* make all Ecclesiastical power to belong to every Congregation, and call *the Bishops Antichristian, because they take upon them to oversee so many Pastors and Churches:* And in another treatise, where they answer this Question, whether the Queen may be excommunicated by the Presbyterie, they say, *That they detest the power of any Person or Presbytery, usurping Authority over the Church: No Presbytery can do any thing of this kind without the*

Confer. with Egerton p. 43. *Collection of certain Art.* 1590. *Art.* 11.

consent

Conſent of the whole Congregation, ——— *but That the Congregation whereof the Prince is, may Excommunicate him:*

Ainſworth went the ſame way, and declared himſelf in theſe words. *We find no Authority committed to our Congregation over another, for Excommunicating the ſame, as every Church has over her own members: Chriſt reſerveth this power in his own hands.* *Ainſ. Communion of Saints. c. 24.*

Barrow affirms, *that ordinary ſet Synods are as prejudicial to the Rights of the Church as the other,* i. e. Dioceſan Epiſcopacy. *Bar. Refutat of Gifford. 137.*

But *Johnſon* was the firſt that cleared this point, and treated of it particularly: He layes down two things as the foundation of Church Government and Unity: 1. *That all particular Churches, with their Paſtors do ſtand immediately under Jeſus Chriſt their Arch Paſtor, without any other ſtrange Eccleſiaſtical Power and Authority interpoſed between: Whether of Prelates, or their unlawful uſurping Synods.* 2. *That notwithſtanding the eſtate and diſtinction aforeſaid, yet all the Churches and Miniſters of them ſhould be alwayes ready to adviſe and aſſiſt one another* ——— *and in this manner might be had a lawful and profitable uſe of Synods, claſſes,* &c. *Provided they do not uſurp any unlawful juriſdiction or power over particular Churches:* This man goes yet farther and maintains Congregational Epiſcopacy: and ſhews out of ſeveral places of Scripture and antiquity, *That there may be in a particular Church, one Paſtor, or Angel of the Church (properly and ſpecially ſo called)* *Johnſ. Chriſtian Plea, Treat. 3. Treat. 3. c. 6. p. 251. 262. &c.*

called) *and divers teachers and ruling Elders joyned to this Paſtor in the Miniſtry and Government of the ſame Church, who may all of them generally be called Paſtors, yet ſo as one be ſpecially diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, in reſpect of place and function to be the Paſtor,* (*ſo more particularly called*) *under Jeſus Chriſt the Arch-Paſtor*: Never did copy agree more exactly with the Original, than Mr. *Baxters* doctrine about Church Government, with this of *Johnſon* the *Browniſt*. *Ut ſit tam ſimilis ſibi nec ipſe*: It is eaſier to find a difference between Mr. *B.* and himſelf upon other occaſions, than to diſcern the leaſt diſagreement between him and *Johnſon* in this.

Diſſ p. 17. *Robinſon* (whom *Baylie* makes the Father of the Independents) though he left ſome tenets of the *Browniſts*, continued ſtill a ſeparation in the Sacraments and Diſcipline, and was as much for this Congregational way as any of the *Browniſts*. In his Apology he declares, *That every particular Congregation is intire without any relation to other Churches, as* Peter *or* Paul *are perfect men without reſpect to others; that theſe Congregations are Independent and under Chriſt only. Therefore the Ancient bounds which the Apoſtles have laid are not to be removed under pretence of any human Prudence, Antiquity, or Unity*: Upon this foundation the Independent Churches were built, and continue to this day, which though they may differ in points of Doctrine as their Paſtors, or leading men may be inclined, yet this conſtitution

Robinſ. Apol. p. 17.

of

of Government gives them a common Denomination: And now having given this account of the Original of this way, at leaſtwiſe in theſe laſt times, (the higher Antiquity of it we ſhall conſider elſewhere) I ſhall in the next place, give ſome account of the ſucceſs of this form of Government, and ſhew what fruits of Peace, and Truth, it has yielded ſince its firſt planting by the *Browniſts*.

Robert Brown Schoolmaſter in *Southwark*, having ſeduced out of the Communion of the Church of *England* ſuch a number of Diſciples as made up a congregation, for fear leſt the ſeverity of our Laws might diſſipate this new Church, reſolved to remove it to a place of greater liberty, and accordingly perſwaded his followers to tranſport themſelves and families into *Middleborough*: Here they had not been long but they began to be ſhaken with inteſtine diſcords; *George Johnſon* ſayes, *It was in great meaſure occaſioned by* Browns *Wife, and other Women of that baniſhed Church; which cauſed a mortal feud between* Brown *and* Hariſon: *and ſome ſaid it was the occaſion of* Hariſon's *death. It was alſo the cauſe of Excommunicating* Perriman: And this new faſhion'd Church in ſhort broke all to pieces, moſt turning *Anabaptiſts*, and *Brown* at laſt ſeeing himſelf deſerted, returned with tears in his eyes into the Unity of the Church; Conformed, and was preferred to a living.

Baylie diſſ. Ch. I.

G. Johnſ. Letter to Fran. Johnſ.

Diff. p.14. The next Congregation that was formed under this rule was by *F. Johnson*, (for *Barrow* was hanged before he could fill his Church) and this finding the air of the *English* Government not to agree with it, followed its Pastor to *Holland*, and setled at *Amsterdam*, a kind Soil for a young and tender sect: But this Colony had no better success than that of *Brown*, for in a little while it was diminished by the falling away of several to the *Anabaptists*, who were Excommunicated by the Congregation they deserted: But the dissensions that were raised among themselves afflicted them yet more; for *G. Johnson* having disobliged his Brothers Wife, by reproving her for the vanity of her Apparel, and cited a Text of Scripture for it, when he was candidate for the place of a Pastor in conjunction with his Brother, was required to recant his Doctrine against fine Cloaths; he on the other side drew Articles of Impeachment against the Busk, Stomacher, and Sleeves, *&c.* of his Sister in Law, and the contention grew so sharp that the Pastor Excommunicated his Brother, notwithstanding all the mediation of the Presbytery, and afterwards his father too, upon the same quarrel: I must confess I never saw any thing more extravagant than this contention, as it is related by the sufferer with great particularity; the Impertinence, the Childishness of the whole Transaction is so extraordinary, that a man cannot reflect upon it without compassion;

G. Johnson discourse of some troubles, &c. 1603.

as

as men would the ſtrange and extravagant humours of *Bedlam*: After this breach follow'd another between *F. Johnſon* the Paſtor and *Ainſworth* the Doctor of the Church who divided it yet once more, and excommunicated one the other, *Johnſon* and his party quit the place, and go to *Embden*; where this Church diſſolv'd, and the other part at *Amſterdam* after the death of *Ainſworth* remain'd a long while deſtitute of any Officers: *Smith* who had tranſported a new Church to *Leyden* left it, and turn'd *Anabaptiſt*, and theſe Congregational Churches were every where juſt expiring, when *Robinſon* revived them with new and more Commodious principles; though the Government were ſtill the ſame.

And now part of *Robinſon*'s Church with his new amendments being carried over to *New England* in a ſhort time over-ſpread the whole Country, for the old Planters having almoſt loſt all ſence as well as neglected all exerciſe of Religion, did eaſily give into this new Model, and ſo the whole Country, *i. e.* as many as were of any Communion ſubmitted to this form, though the greater part were of no Church at all by reaſon of the difficulty of admittance into this: yet what were the fruits of this Congregational Epiſcopacy in this flouriſhing condition? 1. The neglect of Converting the Pagans, which their Miniſters own without any ſhame or remorſe; which ſeems to have proceeded not ſo much out of their prin-

ciple to make all Saints which ſhould be admitted to their Communion, (though that was pretended by them, for a reaſon againſt general Converſion) as out of the nature of their conſtitution; for the Paſtor of a Congregation, thought it not worth his while to go and gather Congregations over whom he was to have no authority, and ſuch as muſt be committed to he knows not whom.

Short ſtory of the riſe. p. 32. 13, 2.

Nor were theſe Soveraign Congregations, much more uſeful for the preſervation of truth and Unity, than they were for the Propagation of the Goſpel: For they ſoon fell into horrid kinds of errours and blaſphemies, that the Holy Ghoſt perſonally dwelt in them; That their own Revelations of particular events were as Infallible as the Scriptures. That ſin in a child of God ſhould never trouble him: That ſouls, were mortal; that the Reſurrection of the dead was not to be underſtood literally, with ſeveral ſuch hideous doctrines. Some extravagant women, as *Hutchinſon* and *Dyer* did affront theſe Churches, and drew ſeveral of theſe Congregational Biſhops, and the leading men among them, unto their party, and to countenance their errors that were no leſs Monſtrous than the births they are ſaid to have had: Theſe began to affect purer ordinances, and deſpis'd their ſetled Churches as legal Synagogues: *Williams* and ſeveral others declar'd they could not conform, and would have the benefit of Separate

Congre-

Congregations: But after all theſe men had no better remedies againſt Schiſm and Hereſie than thoſe they rail'd at ſo much here, the Sword and power of the Civil Magiſtrate: *Williams* was baniſh'd, and makes woful complaints of his hard uſage; *Hutchinſon* and her company, being alſo forc'd farther into the Country, was with her followers ſlain by the *Indians*: nay ſome have been ſo Barbarous as to deſtroy *Quakers* upon the account of their Religion; and in ſhort, there is no place nor Trade nor dealing for thoſe that oppoſe their Churches, and their Excommunication is rendred terrible even to thoſe who are not of their Churches, upon the account of the Civil deprivation that attends it.

From *New-England* this Congregational way return'd back again to *Holland*, where notwithſtanding all the advantages it might have had by ſome farther experience in *New-England* and the late amendments, yet had no better ſucceſs than when it was planted there under the name of *Browniſm*: The firſt *Independent* Church there was at *Rotterdam* ſetled by *H. Peters* an Apoſtle ſuitable to the conſtitution: to him ſucceeded *Bridges* and *Ward*: but *Simpſon* coming thither and renouncing his Ordination, and reducing himſelf to the ſtate of a private member, was not long ſatisfi'd, the Paſtors not allowing the private members ſufficient liberty of Propheſying. Whereupon *Simpſon* erects a new Congregation of his own, and the contentions *Bailie's Diſſ. Chap.* 4.

tions

tions between these Congregations were extream fierce and Scandalous, *Ward* is turn'd out for favouring *Simpson*, in his pretensions to Liberty of Propheſying, and at last with much ado the buſineſs is made up by the interpoſing of 4 Brethren of other Congregations which they call'd a Synod: but that peace laſted not long for ſome time after they were all diſſipated, and at this time I do not know of any one Congregation of this way in all that Country.

At *Arnheim* where they ſetled a ſmall Congregation they had no better ſucceſs, for they fell into ſtrange Hereſies, and Extravagances, ſetting up *Chiliaſm*, and Blaſphemy, *That God is the author of ſin*, and the like, and now their remains not the leaſt footſtep of their Church or Doctrine in that place.

But no place can furniſh a more Tragical Hiſtory of this *Congregational Epiſcopacy* than *England*, for this opinion taking new root here about the beginning of the late Wars, produc'd ſuch confuſion, as nothing but the miraculous hand of God could have ever reduc'd to any ſettlement or order: He that would ſee the Influence it had on the Civil Government, the growth and prevailing of it in the Army; the Slavery of the Nation which immediately follow'd the Murder of the late King, and the Aboliti-on of Kingly Government: the Shedding of ſo much Innocent blood, under the formality of Juſtice, though againſt all the Laws

of

of this Land and those of God and man; he that would see how they set up an Usurper, and when he was remov'd by a happy providence how they oppos'd all the means of Union and settlement, may find enough to entertain his wonder in *Walkers History of Independency*: and the Histories of those times: But for the Influence it had upon Religion, there would be no end of relating the strange confusions, the Heresies and Schisms that this way brought amongst us. *Tho. Edwards* gives some account of them for about 4 years, and reckons near two hundred several strange opinions with which they infected this Kingdom: nor did *they only beget Heresies but learn'd to Cherish them* too, for though this kind of Church Government did open the way to *Anabaptism*, *Antinomianism*, *Familism* and many more Heresies, yet the Independents commonly disown'd and Excomunicated such as fell into them: *But here Independency became an Uniting Principle*, and bound up all sorts of Errors and Blasphemies in one, and would not disown any that would enter into their Constitution or interest, let them believe as they please, or believe nothing all: but as to the Sects that Sprung out of them let us hear *Bastwick*: *Before the Independents Apparition in our Horison, there were but three or four Sects known among us, and they were few in number and well conditioned*: But out *of the Independents lungs are Sprung above* 40 *several sorts of straglers, which before their coming were never*

Vid Ed. Gangrana.

Baylies Diss. p. 93.

2. *part of Indep. Postscript. p.* 37.

never known among us. J. Lilburn *related it unto me, and that in the presence of others, that returning from the Wars to* London, *he met forty new Sects, and some so pernicious that he had much a do to keep his hands off them, though he was in his judgment for a Toleration of all Religions. There are innumerable and Diabolical Sects; and so prodigiously Impious, that it is not for a Christian to name their opinions.*

And Lastly these Congregational Bishops, men of humble pretences, that would not aspire at first beyond a single Congregation, nor desire to govern that any otherwise than in Conjunction with, and by the advice of all the members, These men when they had an opportunity, exercis'd so great, and extensive a Tyranny, as this Church had never felt under the most Insolent of Diocesan Bishops: for *P. Nye* and *H. Peters* the Arch-Bishops of those times, who Govern'd the Committee of Tryers, had no Law, no Canons, but their own pleasures, they rejected whom they pleas'd without giving themselves the Trouble of the sufferers the satisfaction of the least reason; and there was no relief, no *Quare Impedit* against these Church Governours; and their proceedings were so arbitrary that some stil'd that Committee, *The English Inquisition.* And this is the fair fruit of *Congregational Episcopacy* among us. Confusion, Regicide and Slavery in the Commonwealth; Heresie, and endless Sects; and more than Papal Tyranny in the Church.

The Case of A. S. 1.

But

But surely Mr. *B.* is not for this *Congregational Independent* way, but for a Temperament or Mixture of Church Government, made up of this and Presbytery, and Episcopacy: Mr. *B.* tells us that he has not chang'd his opinion these forty years: and if we may judge of it by what he has written since, it must be either *Independency*, or something so like it, that an ordinary Capacity cannot distinguish from it. For if to declare a Church of Christs constituting to be but one Congregation, joyn'd in personal Communion of Prayer and Sacraments and that every such Congregation is Independent; and hath all sort of Ecclesiastical power given it immediatly by Christ. If to say, that to usurp Authority over several of these Churches, and to assume the power of censure over their Members, is contrary to the Apostolick Institution, and unchurches all those Congregations, and that no Synods, no more than Bishops, have any Superiority over any one, or more of these Churches, or that a Church for Discipline cannot comprehend a greater number than a Church for Worship; if this be *Independency* Mr. *B.* holds it, or else he either does not mean as he speaks, for all these things he plainly affirms) or speaks so as no body can make any other meaning of his words.

Treatise of Episc. pref.

Yet how can this be? for he is not against Bishops and *Synods*: no more are the *Independents*, they have not condemn'd the use of Synods, as I have shew'd out of *F. Johnson*:

and

1658. and the *Independents* Assembled in a Synod, declare in the Preface to their Confession, that this neglect of Synods, and *Consociation* was the cause of those endless divisions their Churches ran into; but still this is no more than a Neighbourly consultation, and has no proper authority to impose any rule upon National Churches: But Mr. *B.* is for Episcopacy: so is *Johnson*, and Mr. *B.* is for no other. For he does expressly disown any Bishop that is appointed over many Churches: But he is for *Bishop Ushers* Episcopacy: It is true Mr. *B.* says so in several places: and that *Bishop Usher* and *he* had *agreed the point in a quarter of an hour*: What might have been the result of Mr. *B.*'s conversation with that Learned Primate I cannot tell: But that which Mr. *B.* so often referrs us to for *Bishop Ushers* opinion, shews there is as great a distance between him and Mr. *B.* in this point as there is between Mr. *B.* and the Church of *England*: There is a small Paper that bears the name of that Bishop, Entituled *The Reduction of Episcopacy*, which Mr. *B.* often mentions; I will Transcribe the second Article, that the reader may see how well his notion of Episcopacy does agree with Mr. *B.*'s. "Where-
"as by a Statute in the 26 year of K. *Henry*
p. 6. "the Eight (reviv'd in the first of Queen
"*Elizabeth*) Suffragans are appointed to be
"erected in Twenty six several places of
"this Kingdom, the number of them might
"very well be conform'd unto the number of
"the

"the ſeveral Rural Deanries into which "every Dioceſe is ſubdivided: which being "done, the Suffragans ſupplying the place "of thoſe who in the Ancient Church were "call'd (*Chorepiſcopi*) might every month "Aſſemble a Synod of all the Rectors, or "Incumbent Paſtors within the Precinct, "and according to the major part of their "voices conclude all matters that ſhould "be brought into Debate before them. To "this Synod the Rector and Church-wardens "might Preſent ſuch Impenitent perſons, as "by admonition and ſuſpenſion from the Sa-"crament would not be Reform'd, who if "they remain Contumacious and incorri-"gible, the ſentence of Excommunication "might be decreed againſt them by the "Synod, and accordingly be executed "in the Pariſh where they liv'd,——— "Hitherto alſo all things that concern'd "Parochial Miniſters may be referr'd, "whether they did touch their doctrine or "their Converſation: The Dioceſans were to remain as now, only to Govern by a Synod of Suffragans, and incumbents: and their Decrees if occaſion were to be reviſed, by Provincial, and Metropolitical Synods, preſided by the Metropolitans: Now let us compare this with Mr. *B.*'s Doctrine of Church Government. Firſt then: the *Suffragans* here mention'd, as the Biſhops of *the firſt and loweſt order*, are *Dioceſan* for every one is to rule a Rural Deanry, which conſiſts of about 40 or 50, or ſometimes more

more Pariſhes: is not this the ſame ſpecies of Government with Dioceſan? if a Dioceſe of 50 Pariſhes be ſpecifically diſtinct from one of 80 or a Hundred, we muſt have ſeveral ſpecies amongſt us too, according to the different proportions of our Biſhopricks: the Dioceſe of *Lincoln* will be ſpecifically different from that of *Briſtol*, and by this way it is poſſible at laſt to make out Mr. *B.*'s *Twelve ſorts of Epiſcopacy* which he reckons in his Diſputation of Church Government: in ſhort: what kind of Epiſcopacy does Mr. *B.* reject? *Dioceſan* he ſays: and what is that? *By a Dioceſe we Nonconformiſts mean only a large Circuit of Ground with its Inhabitants containing many particular Pariſhes; and by a Dioceſan Church we mean all the Chriſtians within this Circuit, who have but one Biſhop over them: though they be of many Pariſhes.* And what Epiſcopacy does Mr. *B.* approve? Biſhop *Uſhers* Epiſcopacy Reduc'd: and what is this? It is a Biſhop over many Pariſhes, a Biſhop of a *Rural Deanry* that contains a great many Pariſh Churches. It is manifeſt therefore that Mr. *B.* ſays and unſays, *and Condemns himſelf in that which he approves.* 2. Biſhop *Uſher's Reduction* overthrows the Foundations of Mr. *B.*'s Church, the *Eſſence* and *Individuation* of it: for he defines a Church by a Congregation, *for perſonal Communion in Worſhip and Diſcipline.* and denies that one Church can be any farther extended in reſpect of its Government and Diſcipline, than it may in reſpect of Wor-

Treatiſe of Epiſc. part. 2. *c.* vii.

Worſhip: which he expreſſes thus: *I think, many of them* (*i e.* the Presbyterians) *do* with Rutterford, *diſtinguiſh between a Worſhipping Church and a Govern'd Church.* (And ſadling the Horſe for Prelacy to mount on) *do affirm that many, about Twelve of theſe Worſhipping Churches* (like our Pariſhes) *may make but one Govern'd, or Presbyterial Church*: But Biſhop *Uſhers* Project makes 40 or 50 Worſhipping Churches, but one Govern'd Church.

3. Biſhop *Uſhers Reduction* depoſes Pariſh Biſhops, and turns their Churches into Chapels, becauſe they are allow'd no exerciſe of the Keys, but only admonition, and ſuſpenſion from the Sacrament 'till the Biſhop and Synod is made acquainted with it; and this any incumbent in the Church of *England* is allow'd to do: But Mr. *B.* rejects Dioceſan Epiſcopacy for this fault of turning Churches into Chapels, and Paſtors into Preaching Curats, and yet approves all that he Condemns by yielding to Biſhop *Uſhers* Reduction: It is ſometning ſtrange he ſhould be a *Non Conformiſt*, to himſelf, as well as to *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy*, and upon the very ſame reaſons too. *Art. 1.*

Laſtly, This Project of Church Government (in which there is one thing not ſo agreeable to the practice of Antiquity, which is the Major part of the Presbyters concluding the Biſhop, who alwayes had a Negative voice, and nothing ever becoming an Act, without his conſent and Approbation)

bation) this I say may perhaps be of some use to make an accommodation, between *Presbyterian* Government, by *Classes* and *Synods*, &c. and *Diocesan* Episcopacy: but it wholly overthrows Mr. *B.*'s Congregational way, however qualifi'd by the Independent Principles of Consociation, beyond which Mr. *B.*'s Notion of Church Government, and constitution does not extend.

Therefore, to leave this Episcopacy of Bishop *Ushers* as destructive of *Independence*, why may not they of the Congregational way prevent such inconveniences as they have fallen into, by some quallifying Principles in favour of *Consociation*, and some abatement in their Punctiliousness of admitting into full Communion, and *Church-membership*? And thus far no doubt Mr. *B.* does comply: to which I answer, That the Fundamental Principle of this Congregational way does dispose it to all manner of confusion, which I undertook to shew in the last place.

I shall say nothing to such Principles of our Independents as have no necessary Connexion with the nature of their Church Government, as those of separation from every defect in ordinances and the like, they are besides my purpose, and the mischief, and unreasonableness of them have been shew'd already with so much light, and advantage by the Incomparable Dean of *Pauls*, as to be able to convince any men who did mistake in good earnest; as to that part therefore

fore I will ſuppoſe them ſatisfi'd in point of Conſcience though not perhaps in point of Honour, and conſider only the miſchiefs of their Government, abſtracted from their other opinions.

The *Independent* or Congregational conſtitution is founded upon theſe two Principles.

1. That Chriſt and his Apoſtles inſtituted Congregational Churches, and endued them with all the Power that is given the Church: as of cenſures, Excommunication and the like, without any dependence one on another, or of ſeveral upon one General Paſtor, and that the ſingle Congregations planted at firſt in ſeveral Cities when they came to encreaſe beyond the poſſibility of Perſonal Communion, were to imitate Bee-hives, and to ſend out Colonies under their proper Officers, without any dependence on the mother Hive.

2. That what was thus inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles muſt ſo continue, it not being in the power of man, or the Church to alter it.

This is the foundation of Independent Government, and if you abate any thing of theſe Principles, the whole Fabrick muſt fall to pieces.

If you deny the firſt that Chriſt or his Apoſtles did not inſtitute ſuch Churches, the Congregational way has no pretence, or if you will ſay that the firſt that were planted were indeed of this kind, but accidental-

ſy, there being no more believers in any City than might meet in one Congregation it equally deſtroys it: for when Chriſtians were multipli'd into ſeveral Congregations they might put themſelves under another form more commodious for preſerving Unity among them.

If you deny the ſecond, that though the Apoſtolical Churches were of this Model, yet that it was not neceſſary, and unalterable; it will remove all juſt reaſon of contention about it; for the Church having made uſe of its liberty in the change of that Government which it is ſuppos'd to have power to do as it ſaw occaſion, nothing can be more unreaſonable, than to tear it in pieces upon this occaſion, unleſs it has done ſomething that it had no authority to do, and ſo alter'd the Government Eſtabliſh'd by Chriſt without his leave: in ſhort if the Apoſtles did not found Congregational Churches, there is no reaſon why we ſhould ſet them up; if they did found them at firſt, but did deſign they ſhould continue no longer, than till the numbers of Chriſtians ſhould exceed one Congregation, the ſucceſs of the Goſpel has chang'd that form: If they were founded at firſt, and then the matter left to the diſcretion of the Church to frame it ſelf according to its beſt convenience, the Church has already determin'd it, there can be no Controverſie: So that if any of theſe Principles be deni'd, the Congregational Government muſt fall of courſe.

Indepen-

Independency, therefore being founded upon a firm belief of thoſe Fundamental Principles, which cannot be left, but the whole frame muſt ſink, I ſhall proceed to ſhew the unavoidable miſchiefs that belief expoſes theſe Congregational Churches to.

1. Of the miſchiefs that this way occaſions, by rendring any Union between particular Churches Impoſſible.

2. The miſchiefs it produces in particular Churches or Congregations.

1. Of the Impoſſiblity of preſerving any Unity between Independent Churches.

Theſe Churches like ſo many little Soveraignties crowded together within the ſame Territory, and a great number of them within the Walls of the ſame City, their Vicinity and Cohabitation gives them opportunities, and begets a neceſſity of a Correſpondence and Communication between them; and this begetting a mutual knowledge of each others opinions and practice, differences will ariſe, and endanger their peace; and what remedy is there, ſince there is no common Court to put an end to it? It muſt be a lamentable caſe when every quarrel, becomes a War; and there is no end but either Ruin, or at laſt, when they are tyr'd with contention, their Voluntary Acquieſcence. But you will ſay there is the ſame Inconvenience in Epiſcopacy; for if Biſhops fall out about Religion who ſhall judge between them? if you ſay Metropolitans and Synods; ſuppoſe two Metro-

politans then should differ, or two Councils: It were much better they would agree, but if they will quarrel, it is not quite so bad as if those that live in the same City, and under the same Government should fall out; suppose our Church could not adjust all Articles of Faith and Discipline with the Churches of *France* or *Switzerland*, good men would wish that it might be made up, and that there were a perfect Harmony in our Confessions: But in case this could not be effected, yet the Controversie would remain pretty quiet within the books that should be written about it: But if within the City of *London* those Controversies should be unhappily started, and one Parish take one side of the Question, and another the contrary, it would be something more dangerous; and an Intolerable defect in the constitution of our Church to have no effectual remedy to apply to the beginnings of this Division: But what hurt is it, you may say, let both enjoy their own opinion, if they would do so with Peace it were something; but these little republick Churches, like *Descartes* his *Vortexes* grate and make Impression one upon the other; Some members of one Congregation may be seduc'd by the other, and the whole perhaps in danger of being carried away with evil Doctrine or example, what shall be done in this case? They can submit to no Judge; for they are immediately under Christ; they must

must have no *Dioceſan*, no *Claſſes*, no power to Controul them; what then? They must wrangle to the worlds end; or Diſſolve and come to nothing as many of their Congregations have done.

The *Independents* have been made very ſenſible of this by a ſad experience of great and Irremediable diſſenſions, and ſome of them have been ſo ingenuous as to confeſs it, and enter'd into ſome meaſures for an effectual Prevention of theſe diſorders: by way of Conſociation or Synods: but neither can relieve them as long as they maintain the principles before mentioned, *i.e.* as long as they are *Independents*.

For 1. What *Conſociation* can there be between thoſe bodies of men, that cannot be United under any Common Government, to which the particulars are to be ſubordinate? Without any Laws to correct them, without authority to execute them, without any ſubordination of the Members: what Permanent *Conſociation* can be expected, that muſt depend upon the pleaſure of every Congregation of that Aſſociation? that remains ſtill Independent, and under no obligation to ſubmit any farther than it ſelf thinks good? This is the caſe of the Independents, either there muſt be General Officers to take care of this *Conſociation*, as *Biſhops* or *Supervisors*, or ſome Committees and Synods, and theſe muſt have ſome power over the particular Congregations under their Inſpection, or there muſt be no ſuch

Officers: If that be allow'd, it is no more *Independence*, but *Dioceſan* Epiſcopacy or Presbytery: And overthrows the Fundamental principle, that the Congregations immediately under Chriſt, and that the conſtitution cannot be alter'd for any convenience. If they have no Perſons appointed over the Generality, then wherein does this Conſociation conſiſt, or how are they United? But ſuppoſe they have Synods, as they had one in the *Savoy* 1658. What can they be able to do? They may adviſe, and diſcourſe the matter, but if any particular Congregation be obſtinate, they cannot cenſure, that Importing a Superiority, which deſtroys the notion of Congregational *Independence*; to make this clearer, if poſſible, ſuppoſe ſomething like *Hobbs* his State of nature, That Twenty men, who can have no pretence of authority one over the other, were caſt upon an Iſland; and their Common neceſſities would oblige them to live together and maintain ſome Commerce and agreement, and that every one ſhould believe firmly that God had not only made him free, but that he had laid an obligation on him ſo to continue, and never to ſubject himſelf to any Creature, upon the pretence of any conveniences of life. How ſhould theſe men do? They might conſult, and agree upon a rule, they might make a diſtribution of proprieties, and promiſe never to hurt or injure one the other: But theſe men being ſubject to the ſame Appe-

tites

tites and disorders with others, it is not to be expected they should live long without some bodies transgressing his duty: And then what shall be done to preserve this *Consociation* of Kings? Every one is sacred and cannot be called before any Tribunal, but his own Conscience; and that perhaps he may dispense with: he must not submit to any one, nor to all his associates together, nor can they, continuing in that opinion of Original Freedom, usurp any Authorities over him; What can such a Constitution produce? Either their indignation, or necessity must prevail over their principles, and so they must submit to Government, or else if they retain these fancies of Independant Soveraignity and Freedom, they must dissolve and break all to pieces, and renounce all communication one with the other.

You will say that good men will agree, and preserve such an union as their common necessities require, without any superior power to inforce it: But the *Independents* know by woful experience, that all have not proved Saints that they have received for such, though they were as punctilious in the admitting of them as the Pope in a *Canonization*; besides this, reason will destroy the discipline of Congregational as well as of associated Churches: for every good man will do his duty, and what need therefore of any power in the congregation to censure.

It

It is plain therefore that Congregational Churches, unleſs they renounce the Principles of their Independence, cannot enter into any ſolid and laſting union, having no means to preſerve it, and all the union that their Principles will admit can be no other than that of a heap of ſand, where the parts are looſe and unconnected, and therefore unavoidably ſcattered and diſſipated by the firſt Wind that ſhall ariſe.

Nor is this Congregational Conſtitution leſs pernicious to the Peace of Particular Churches, than it is to a General union of many Congregations, which I ſhall make appear by the following reaſons. Firſt in General; and then by examining the different forms there may be of Admininiſtring this Congregational power.

1. He that lyeth under an unjuſt ſentence of a Congregation has no relief; for this being Independent, there is no Appeal left, and this is the more grievous, by how much the deprivation of Communion, is a ſorer puniſhment to thoſe who have known the value of the Ordinances of Chriſt, and have taſted the grace of God in them, than any other that can be inflicted on mens bodies or eſtates. And here can be no other relief but by Separation and Schiſm.

2. Whe

2. When a Paſtor is turned Heretick, and has ſeduc'd his Congregation into a good opinion of his Doctrine, they have no relief, becauſe they have no judge to examine the Doctrine, and to remove the evil from among them.

3. If a Congregation ſhall conſpire to be wicked, turn *Libertines* and *Antinomians*, who ſhall cenſure them for it? the Magiſtrate may not be a Chriſtian, or may not take notice of it.

But the inconveniences of this way may be farther obſerv'd, by looking into the ſeveral forms, whereby this Congregational Supremacy either is or may be Adminiſtred.

1. Suppoſe the Paſtor inveſted with this whole power, without any appeal to be made from his ſentence; what temptation would this independence be to abuſe that unaccountable power, ſince no ſuperior Court could reviſe his Acts? And if this man ſhould prove imprudent, and wilful in the Adminiſtration of ſo great a power, what peace could be expected? And yet we muſt expect this power ſhould fall often into the evil hands, and it muſt be a wretched conſtitution that ſhould not make ſome proviſion againſt it. But in the Congregational way, the firſt thing is extremity: But I will not urge this, becauſe the Independents will not allow the Paſtor any ſuch power, and therefore let us conſider this

this way as managed by the Paſtor, and a ſelect Presbytery: the inconveniences are rather greater. For,

1. In many Congregations the Church power muſt come into the hands of ſuch as have little capacity, or experience, and by that means would become contemptible.

2. Suppoſe they ſhould not all agree upon a Sentence of Excommunication, muſt the majority conclude it? and againſt the opinion of the Miniſter? This would be ſomething hard for him to pronounce a ſentence againſt his own judgment, and condemn a perſon he believes to be innocent; if he does refuſe, then he reſiſts the Authority of the Church, and that muſt needs produce a Rupture.

3. They of the ſelect Presbytery muſt be ſuppoſed, to have a mixture with the reſt by way of dealing, and commerce, and this begetting differences and feuds between them, it cannot be avoided but that Church cenſures will be abuſed to revenge private Animoſities: and thoſe upon whom they are to be executed, will be more loth to ſubmit when they recollect that they proceed from perſons they had diſoblig'd: and inſtead of reflecting upon their guilt, they will be apt to aſcribe all to private grudge: upon which reaſon in common Law, he that is ſuppoſed to be judged by his neighbours, has the liberty to reject any with whom he has had any falling out.

4. This

4. This would probably degenerate into a civil Tyranny, when a poor man ſhould refuſe to comply with ſome of his Eccleſiaſtical Judges, to his own diſadvantage, they would find ſome advantage againſt him: and by diſgracing him in the Congregation, ruine him conſequently in his livelyhood.

5. The exerciſing of ſuch cenſures within ſo little compaſs as that of a Congregation, by the members of it one on the other, muſt in a little while ingage the whole body in parties and factions, without any hopes of uniting, the ſufferers will be diſcontented, and when they grow numerous will not conceal their reſentments, but bend them to the diſturbance of that Congregational unity.

But laſtly if we ſuppoſe the whole Congregation concerned to declare it ſelf in every act of Excommunication; few of the inconveniences before mentioned will be removed, and there will be others yet greater. For,

1. It cannot well be avoided but upon many cauſes the Congregation will be divided, and when it happens to be upon the ſubject of removing from, or reſtoring to Church communion, ſuch differences do lead them into Schiſm; for ſince there is no judge betweea them, every party will likely ſtand by its own opinion, and will hardly ſubmit their judgments to the majority of the other ſide, that out-votes them but by a few voices:

Thoſe

Thoſe that were fierce for turning a Member out of Church fellowſhip, becauſe they are offended with him, will likelier quit the Congregation and ſet up for themſelves, than endure the Communion of that which they cryed out upon as ſo great a ſcandal.

2. The wiſeſt and beſt men who are generally the feweſt will be of no uſe, for they will be overborn with number.

3. It will make a conſtant trade of Faction, and making of parties.

To conclude therefore, If the Church hath been afflicted with Schiſms and Hereſies under Dioceſan Biſhops, we have ſeen that it has ſuffered the ſame things under other ſorts of Government, but that which Mr. *B.* offers as a remedy of diſorders, has been the leaſt able to preſerve the Church from diviſions; nor were thoſe infinite breaches accidental only, as the beſt Government in the world cannot prevent all inconveniences, but were the natural fruit of that conſtitution, which would not be able to preſerve peace between the Churches of one City, how much leſs between the numerous Congregations of a Kingdom: and is ſuch a form as deſtroyes it ſelf, and pulls even particular Congregation in pieces, by unavoidable feuds and factions firſt, and then by formal Schiſm and Separation.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Riſe and Progreſs of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy.

Mr. *Baxter* in a Book publiſhed ſince his *Church Hiſtory*, gives us ſuch an account of the Original of Biſhops and Dioceſans, as would make one ſuſpect he had had ſome late Revelation; for he ſpeaks ſo particularly of ſuch things, which no body elſe ever heard of, and ſhews all the firſt cauſes of the riſe of Epiſcopacy after ſo new a manner, that it muſt be either new Revelation, or ſome new Authors found out: But becauſe nothing of theſe appears in the Margin, I am apt to believe it was rather a Dream: For he tells us, "That in the begin- "ning there were but few Scholars and Phi- "loſophers converted, who were able to "Preach, and theſe men of parts *Overtop'd* "*the reſt*, and where ſuch as theſe were "found, *they were highlier eſteemed than the* "*reſt*, and theſe in ſome time became Bi- "ſhops, being made firſt Arbitratours, and "then as more learned Judges of true and "falſe Doctrine, nay, being wiſer than all "the reſt, it was fit he ſhould have a negative "voice; and Fourthly, they underſtood their "own value well enough, and that made "them proud and deſire preheminence. *Treatiſe of Epiſc. Part 1. c. 3.*

"And

"And, Lastly, one Bishop was set over some "Churches for want of more able men, and "he having got the start of the others "that came after, made them truckle to "him.

Mr. *Blondel* had a quite contrary dream, and for my part I do not know a better way of Answering one Dream but with another, he Dream'd I say, (for he had surely never seen it with his eyes open) "That these "gifts were not had in any so great esteem "then, but all went by seniority, and of "the Colledge of Presbyters, the Senior was "as it were the Bishop, and when he dy'd, "the next by seniority took the chair with-"out any more ado, no Election, or Or-"dination being necessary: If this answer does not satisfie, I must profess I cannot help it for want of Authors that speak particularly of these matters. All that I can affirm is, that the Ancients talk of Bishops in every age, up to the Apostles times, and make these Bishops their successours; but of the occasions of their promotion there is not a word, only St. *Jerom* a great while after their institution ascrib'd it to the inconveniences which parity produc'd: But as to the time Mr. *B.* tells us, *That if* Hierom *mistake not, it began at* Alexandria *some years before the death of St.* John *the Apostle.* If Mr. *B.* do's not mistake St. *Jerom*, which is almost impossible, he must know that *Mark* dy'd in the eighth year of *Nero*, which answers the 63. of our Lord. Several

Apologia pro sentent. Hieron. Præfat.

Treat. of Ep. Part 1. *c.* 3. *p.* 15. *Hieron. Catalog. Scr. in Marco. Euseb. Chr. Hieron. Ep. ad Evagr.*

ral years not only before St. *John*'s death, but before St. *Pauls*; and before almost any of the Apostles: So ancient is Episcopacy at *Alexandria* according to St. *Jerom*. His words are these: *Nam & Alexandriæ à Marco Evangelistâ usque ad* Heraclam & Dionysium, *Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant*: *i. e.* from the Death of St. *Mark*, (which *Jerom* following *Eusebius*, places in the eighth year of *Nero*,) to *Dionysius* and *Heraclas* the Presbyters elected their Bishops out of their own body: And this *some years*, *i. e.* almost forty before the death of St. *John*: But does *Jerom* make this the first Original of Episcopacy, surely Mr. *B.* mistakes him? For he makes the divisions of the Church, some saying, *I am of* Paul, *and I am of* Apollos, *and I of* Cephas, to be the first occasion of this institution: and these divisions happened in the Church of *Corinth* many years before St. *Marks* death; and that we may not think *Hierom* speaks this by a figure to express such divisions as followed afterwards in imitation of those of *Corinth*; he instances some particulars that require them to be understood of that particular dissension among the *Corinthians*, for he adds: *After that every one thought those whom he Baptized to be his own, and to belong peculiarly to himself*: Which St. *Paul* mentions, and confutes, and thanks God that he had Baptized but few, lest they should say, *He Baptized in his own name*: Now this *An. Chr.* 52.

determination of the Apostle that Baptizing of Converts did not give the Baptizer any right to Govern them, and that they ought not to bear any name of relation to him, but his name only in which they were Baptized, it is unlikely that this controversy should revive after so clear a determination, and therefore the Original of Episcopacy in St. *Jerom*'s opinion, must be referred to those dissensions in the Church of *Corinth.* For which he fancies this remedy to have been provided: And I cannot but wonder at *Blondel*, who makes St. *Jerom* to speak in this place of things done almost a hundred years after [*An.* 140.] when but a few lines before this passage, he shews *Episcopacy* to have been set up in *Alexandria* immediately after the death of St. *Mark*, *i.e.* about eleven years after this division in the Church of *Corinth.*

Apol. p. 3.

Having considered the summ of Mr. *B.*'s account of the Original of Episcopacy, which is partly Fiction, partly a mistaking, or mincing of St. *Hierom*: I shall proceed to give an Historical account of the rise of Diocesan Episcopacy, out of the Scriptures and Antiquity, as far as I am able to trace it, hoping that some others better acquainted with the Ancients may some time or other give a more full and perfect Deduction.

a 1 Pet. 2. 25.
b Luke 4. 15.
Matth. 4. 12.
Mark 1. 14.

Our Blessed Saviour [a] *The Bishop of our Souls*, laid the first foundation of his Church by his own Preaching [b] *in the Synagogues of Galilee*, where he was approved, *and glorified*

rified by all that heard him: and now having entred upon that great undertaking of reducing the World to *the obedience* of faith, [b] he made choice out of his followers and Disciples of such Persons as he thought fit to instruct more particularly in the knowledge, and to commit to them the great work of the conversion of the World. *Whom he call'd Apostles* [c d] These as more specially devoted to him, did constantly attend his Person, and follow him whither ever he went. [e] And after that he had converted several out of the great multitudes that followed him, by the excellence of his Doctrine, and the conviction of his Miracles, he gave these Apostles [f] Commission to take care of that Flock which was already gathered, to increase it, not only by finishing the Conversion of such, as the sound of his Gospel, and the Fame of his miracles had already disposed to receive the Gospel, but to propagate it to the ends of the Earth, [g] and to *Preach to all Nations.* When he had justified his Doctrine, as well as us, by his death and resurrection: The [i] flock of the Church was yet but very small, and *Peter* though he were now allow'd to be universal Pastor, might easily discharge his duty: [k] The greatest number we read of between the Resurrection and Ascension is but 500, [l] and at *Jerusalem* when they met together they were but about a hundred and twenty: But it was not long before these small beginnings, *this grain of Mustard seed*

b Matt. 4. 18. Luke 6.13. John 6.70.
c Matt. 13. 11.
d Mark 4.11. Luk. 8.10.
e Luke 5. 11.28. Matt. 19. 27. 28. Mark 10. 28. Luke 22. 28.
f John.2. 11.4.53. 11,45.
g Joh. 21 15, 16.
h Matt.28. 19. Mark 16. 15.
i Luke 12. 32.
k 1 Cor. 15.6.
l Acts 1. 15.

grew up with a prodigious and surprizing
m Acts 2. 41. increase, m for on the following Pentecost *there were added unto them about three hundred Souls*: The first fruits of the Spirit, who must be supposed to have been converted, not all by the Sermon of St. *Peter*, but by
n Acts 2. 4,6,7,8. the n Ministry of the other Apostles, and
o Acts. 1. 13. 2. 2. the number of the Converts makes it more probable, that the multitude was divided into several Audiences, since the o *upper Room* where they were assembled, could not hold so great an assembly: This accession made the Church too big for the house, where it first assembled, and the Disciples
p Acts 2. 46. having yet no publick places of meeting, but obliged to p *break bread from house to house*, they were by this means divided into several Congregations: But those of the Congregational way, indeavour to diminish the numbers, by making a great part of these new Converts to be strangers, and to return home when the Feast was over: To which I Answer, 1. That the Scripture gives no countenance to this conjecture,
o Acts 2. 5,14. but sayes all those strange Nations were Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and the Original word inclines most on this side. But 2. Suppose they were some of them Strangers, yet how shall we be assured that they returned home? The Scripture seems to say the
v. 47. contrary: For as soon as it sets down the number, it adds, *That they continued stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine and fellowship and in breaking of bread and in Prayers: They*

i.e. the three thouſand in the Verſe going before: beſides there is no probability of their leaving the Apoſtles, it is not ſuitable to the zeal and devotion of the firſt Converts, who deſpiſed all Earthly concerns, and left *Houſes* and *Land*, and *Families*, for Chriſts ſake. And theſe Proſelytes ſold all, and had all things in common, which takes away the neceſſity of their returning home: Nor did the Church ceaſe to grow and multiply, but proſelytes came over every day; *For the Lord added to the Church daily ſuch as ſhould be ſaved*: But among theſe daily acceſſions, ſome are very great and remarkable; for not long after we find no leſs than five thouſand more added to the Church at one time: *Many of them that heard the word believed, and the number of the men,* (that is plainly, of thoſe that heard the word and believed) *was about five thouſand*: and beſides theſe that were Converted the generality of the people favoured the preaching of the Goſpel, ſo that the Magiſtrates durſt not deal over rigorouſly *becauſe of the people*: This general good diſpoſition was improved by the Apoſtles into a perfect converſion of great numbers: *For believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women.* And the Chriſtian Congregations were now ſo thronged, that *they brought out their ſick and laid them in the Streets that the ſhadow of* Peter *paſſing by might overſhadow ſome of them.*

v. 47.

Acts 4. 4.

v. 21.

Acts 5. 14.

And now the Church of *Jeruſalem* grew too

numerous for the Apostles to take the whole charge of it upon them, for when the *Number*
v. 6. 1. *of the Disciples was multiplyed, their arose a murmuring of the Grecians that their Widows were neglected*, and the Apostles desired the multitude to chuse seven men, whom they might appoint over this matter: And in the mean time they would give themselves *up continually to prayer and the ministry of the Word*: and the twelve it seems had enough to do in this particular, for they declare that they cannot look after Tables, but
v. 2. they must neglect their more peculiar duty, *leave the word of God*: And we do imme-
v. 7. diately find the success of this Counsel, *The word of God increased, and the number of the Disciples multiplyed in* Jerusalem *greatly, and a great company of the Priests were obedient to the Faith*: And now after all these
Acts 8. 1. accessions, we find but *one Church* in *Jerusalem*, a great persecution is said to have been raised against that Church: Now what manner of Church shall we imagine this to be, a Congregational one, shall all those thousands make but one Assembly, for Communion in Prayer, and the Sacraments? It is incredible. There was no place large enough no hold them: and considering the opposition that was made against them, they cannot be supposed to have the use of any publick meeting place; the Synagogues were taken up by the Jews, and if we may guess at their bigness by their number, we must conclude they could not be very capacious,

cious, since in *Jerusalem* there were as *Sigonius* delivers from the Records of the Jews, no less than five hundred and eighty: the number more generally argeed is four hundred and eighty: In short the multitude of Believers as it is represented by St. *Luke*, must be granted to exceed the measure of one or two Congregations, and considering their circumstances might probably make up more than twenty Congregations: This Church then in the singular containing more than one Assembly, was no other than a *Diocess*, governed by the common Council of the Apostles, in which *Peter* may be supposed to preside, without doing the Pope any Service.

Cav. Sigonius de Rep. Heb. l. 2. c. 8. Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. cap. 36. præm. Evang. Mat.

To this the Assertors of the Congregational way make several exceptions, and Mr. *B.* among the rest, but so frivolous, that I wonder after the Answers made to them by the Divines of the Assembly, any can be so obstinate as to insist upon them.

Grand Debate concerning Presb. and Independ. in the Answer to the reasons of the Diss. Breth.

They Except, 1. That the first three thousand Converts were not all of *Jerusalem*, but returned home after the Feast was over, but of this no other proof than that there were *dwelling* in *Jerusalem* devout men of several Nations, or as they render it *sojourning*: and it is not very significant how we understand it, since the Scripture sayes expressly, that they *continued in the Apostles Doctrine and Fellowship*. But of this already.

2. That the five thousand is not to be added to the other three, but includes them:

There needs no other Answer to this, than to refer them to the place, which is clear enough of it self: The miracle wrought on the Cripple that sate in the Gate of the Temple, and the Sermon that seconded it was altogether occasional, and there can be no reason to imagine the whole Church then to be met together in that place.

3. That in those Countries there were much greater Congregations than can be with us, as some of those that followed our Saviour, who Preached to *Myriads*, and the reason is offered, because the air is more pure and thin. That at *Charenton*, the Congregation consists of many thousands: This is manifestly to trifle, and to Libel their own cause, by reasons that are impertinent, or ridiculous.

4. Mr. *B.* Adds, they had better Lungs; in those times and places, he might have said as well, that they had better Ears, and a quicker hearing, or that they could understand a mans meaning by his gaping.

5. They say that this being the first Church, and under the joyn'd care of all the Apostles, might soon arrive to the greatest measure of a Church: What is this in effect but to yield the question? How they came to that number we see well enough, but the thing contended is, that their number did exceed a Congregation; besides they cannot be supposed so well to have multiplyed so very soon, if the Ministry of

these

theſe Apoſtles had not been divided, and ſome Preached in one Aſſembly, and others in another.

6. They ſay there was liberty till *Sauls* perſecution. And what then? Under that liberty the Church might exceed the meaſure of a ſingle Congregation in leſs time.

7. Mr. *B.* ſayes, this is no precedent: And why? The Mother Church gathered, and governed by all the Apoſtles together, (which is a circumſtance that perhaps no other Church can boaſt of) Why ſhou'd not this be a precedent? The truth is it ſpoils a notion of Congregational Independent Churches, and becauſe it cannot be made to comply, it muſt be proteſted againſt that it be not brought into a Precedent.

Beſides theſe exception, they offer teſtimonies to prove the Church of *Jeruſalem* no more than could meet in one place; becauſe all the multitude is ſometimes ſaid to meet together ὁμοθυμαδὸν and ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό: againſt theſe proofs there lies one great exception: The number of Converts on one ſide are ſpecified, and it plainly thence appears, that there was no poſſibility they ſhould all meet together, for all acts of worſhip: but on the other ſide, all the proof is in general expreſſions, the *whole multitude*, and the *all* may denote only thoſe that were preſent, and not all that believed, as it is ſaid *Luke* 1. 10. *The whole multitude* Acts 2.26. 5. 1. 6. 5, 6.

multitude of the people were without Praying, i.e. not all the people of *Jerusalem*, but the whole multitude that was present; so the meeting ὁμοθυμαδὸν may be said of several Congregations meeting for the same purpose as well as of one.

But the *Independents* in the Assembly of Divines did seem to give up this point, and to grant that before the dispersion there might be more than one Congregation of Christians; but that after they were scattered, there remained no more than could meet in one place: Suppose all this: what advantage can it be to their cause: if there were more once than might meet in one Assembly, and so were forc'd to divide into several; and this notwithstanding to retain the name but of one Church, because under one common Government, it follows that whereso'ever the Christians should afterwards increase in the same manner, they might likewise be governed after the same manner, and in several Congregations, still preserve the Unity of the Church: If there were no more afterwards than one Congregation, it is plain, that it was only casual; if I may so speak of the circumstances of the Church.

Nor is that true in fact which they affirm of the Church of *Jerusalem* after the dispersion, for though they are *all* said to be scattered besides the Apostles, yet it cannot be understood of *all* the Believers, because afterwards, we find *Saul* entring into *houses*, *and*

Acts 8. 1.

and haling out Men and Women: We find good men, believers doubtleſs, taking care of *Stephens* Funeral: and thus *Euſebius* underſtood it, where he ſayes all the Diſciples, *i. e.* the Diſciples of Chriſt, mentioned *Acts* 1. that converſed with Chriſt, and ſo the generality of Expoſitors; nor is it to be imagin'd, that the Apoſtles ſhould remain alone at *Jeruſalem*, when the whole Church had been forc'd thence, and the fury of the Perſecution was ſo great that there was no opportunity to Preach publickly: Nor is it unlikely that the Preachers were more particularly mark'd out for deſtruction, for in *Stephen's* caſe, we find it was his publick Diſputing and Preaching, that brought him under the laſh of that Perſecution, and his Indictment was made up of what was delivered by him in his publick Diſcourſes; though beſides it cannot be deny'd but that other Converts, *Men and Women* were alſo hal'd to Priſon: But whatſoever numbers were forc'd away by that Perſecution, it is likely they return'd moſt of them after it was over, and it did not continue long, for immediately after the the Converſion of St. *Paul*, *The Churches had reſt* throughout all *Judea*, and *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, *and were edified and multiplyed*: And it is a ſtrange conceit of *Baronius*, That theſe are the *Jews* of the *Diſperſion* that St. *Peter* and *James* directed their Epiſtles to, and that they were ſcattered into all the Parts of the World: After this Perſecution

Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1. Παντων μαθητων. *Nid. Lorin. Cajet. Calvin. Bez. in Loc.*

Acts 9. 31. *An.* 35.

Acts 8.14. Acts 11. 22.

cution the Church of *Jeruſalem*, as the metropolitan of the reſt, takes care of them, ſends ſome Apoſtles to *Samaria*, and *Barnabas* to *Antioch*: and theſe as ſoon as they had fulfilled their miniſtry, return home to their Mother Church, which could not but thrive much more in proportion than the reſt, whether we reflect upon the number and abilities of her Paſtors, or the advantage of its ſcituation. For the place it ſelf was a moſt convincing witneſs, as of ſome very remarkable actions of our Saviour, ſo particularly of his Death and Reſurrection, here the vail of the Temple was rent, here Rocks cleft in ſunder, here the empty Sepulcher preach'd with no leſs efficacy than the Apoſtles, and though they ſhould hold their peace, the Stones would become Apoſtles, and be *Witneſſes of the Reſurrection*.

Apud Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 1. τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς *ap. Euſeb. l. 2. c. 23.*

This Church being thus conſiderable in all its circumſtances, when the Apoſtles were call'd away, was committed to *James* the juſt, the Brother of our Lord: If not before, for as *Clemens* reports the matter, he was ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, preſently after our Savious Aſcenſion, and mentions it as an inſtance of the humility of the Apoſtles, that would not contend about it, but choſe one that was no Apoſtle, and *Hegeſippus* one of the Ancienteſt Eccleſiaſtical Writers, co-temporary with *Juſtin Martyr* and *Athenagoras*, gives much the ſame account with *Clemens* as to the time of his

his promotion, unleſs we ſhall take *Jerom*'s Tranſlation, which if the words would bear it, is much more commodious: *Hegeſippus* writes, That *James* took upon him the Epiſcopacy of the Church of *Jeruſalem* μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, *after the Apoſtles*; *Jerom* renders it, but againſt all Grammar, and therefore *Sophronius* who tranſlates him into Greek, is forc'd to change the caſe, and write μετὰ τὸς ἀποστόλους, it is very probable *Jerom* read ſo in his copy; though *Ruſinus* who tranſlated the ſame paſſage confirm the Greek reading: However certain it is that *James* was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* (whether *with* or after the Apoſtles is not ſo material) not only from *Hegeſippus* and *Clemens Alex.* but alſo from St. *Paul*, who mentions him as one of the Apoſtles, that he had converſed with in *Jeruſalem*, and it is likely there were no more there at that time but he and *Peter*. But when they were at laſt diſperſed, Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory makes *James* the Ordinary, Biſhop and Dioceſan of the place. As for his Epiſcopacy it will not be diſputed by any man that has left himſelf any freedom of underſtanding and belief: and it is ſtrange to ſee *Salmaſius* run his head ſo violently againſt ſuch ſolid Teſtimonies, as thoſe of *Hegeſippus* and *Clemens*. But for his Dioceſs, that I ſee will be ſtiffly deny'd, though the Scripture Teſtimonies already alledg'd, are ſufficient to perſwade any reaſonable man, that the Church of *Jeruſalem* was more than a Congregation,

Poſt Apoſtolos. Hieron Cat al. in Jacobo.

gregation, and consequently the Bishop of it a Diocesan, according to Mr. *B.*'s definition: But besides; we have as ancient Testimonies from Church History too, of the greatness of that Church, as of any other whatsoever. For *Hegesippus* among several commendations of him, sayes, that several of the Jewish Sectaries who believed neither a Resurrection nor Judgment to come, were converted by *James*. "And that "when a great number of "the Rulers and and prin- "cipal men of the City, "were by his Ministry "brought to believe the "Gospel, the Jews made "an uproar, the Scribes "and Pharisees saying, "that it was to be fear- "ed, that all the people would turn "Christians: would they fansie themselves in so great danger, if the Christians in so vast and populous a City should have but one single Congregation? Suppose they had one Synagogue of four or five hundred, is that such a dreadful proportion as to fright people out of their wits as if they were, immediately to be overrun with Christianity; and what should give them so great disturbance? The Christians had alwayes had one Congregation there, and surely a pretty full one, from the time of Christs Death, and if their meeting places were not increased, and Synagogues with their

Apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 23. πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων πιστευόντων ἦν δόξαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ γραμματεῦσιν, καὶ φαρισαίοις λεγόντων, ὅτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, Ἰησοῦν πεῖσθῆναι.

their Rulers and Officers had not deserted the Jewish Church, and professed Christianity, there had been no pretence for such an apprehension, as if all *Jerusalem* were about to change the Law for the Gospel; it was more than a poor Congregational Church, and Bishop that must give cause to these apprehensions.

It was not long ere this Church of *Jerusalem*, that was grown so formidable to the *Jews*, that they were afraid lest in a little while it might swallow up all their Synagogues, was removed thence, and by a special warning snatch'd from the destruction that was shortly to fall upon that wicked City. There is an ancient Tradition that the Christians of *Jerusalem* forsook it before the last Siege, and went to *Pella*, a City beyond *Jordan*: and because the obscurity of the place may make one suspect that the numbers of the Church of *Jerusalem* were not so great, if this Town could receive them all: We must understand that Town to be their Metropolis, or seat of their Bishop, but the believers were all scattered through that whole Country, as *Epiphanius* writes: and his way of expressing himself, makes *Pella* only the principal residence of the Church, and here it is probable their Bishop liv'd, for after the death of *James* and the Destruction of *Jerusalem*,

Euseb. Hist. l. 3. 5. Τίνα τῆς περαίας πόλιν πέλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζουσι

Epip. Hær. 30. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πάντες οἱ εἰς χριστὸν πεπιστευκότες τὴν περαίαν κατὰ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου κατῴκησαν τὸ πλέον ἐν πέλλῃ τίνι πόλει καλουμένῃ τῆς Δεκαπόλως. Euseb. Hist. l. 3. c. 11.

rusalem, the Apostles and Disciples, and such of our Savious kindred as remained, met together to appoint a Successour to *James* when this Church was departed from *Jerusalem*, and it must needs be more than an ordinary charge to occasion so solemn a meeting, to consult about the Person that should succeed in it. It was more surely than the oversight of one single Congregation: And his Government added yet greater numbers to that Church, many thousands of the Circumcision receiving the Christian Faith at that time, and among the rest *Justus* who succeeded in the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*.

Id. l. 3. c. 35. μυρίων ὅσον τῶν κἀυτα πεπιστευκότων.

Now from this account of the Church of *Jerusalem* it appears manifestly, 1. That it was *Episcopal* from the beginning, and some of the Authors that attest it, liv'd in that time, when the Apostolical Church Government is pretended to be chang'd into Episcopacy, by *Blondel*, and it shews no less the vanity of Mr. *B.*'s conceit about the Original of Bishops.

2. That the Bishops of *Jerusalem* were Diocesan's having the oversight of several Congregations, which is necessarily inferr'd from the express numbers of Converts, from general expressions of wonderful accessions; from the jealousy of the Scribes and Pharisees, who apprehended from the progress Christianity made, that all *Jerusalem* would soon become Christians; from the farther accounts of its increase, and of the

the innumerable multitudes that were added to it, and this is sufficient to shew the weakness of Mr. *B.*'s conjecture, who makes *Rome* and *Alexandria* to be the first patterns of Diocesan Episcopacy, and that not till after the beginning of the third Century.

Nor was the Church of *Jerusalem* singular in its constitution, but all other Churches of the Apostles planting were of the same kind, and design'd for the like, and yet farther increase: The beginnings of them as of all other things were but small, *the Kingdom of Heaven is like a grain of Mustard Seed*, which is yet capable of prodigious improvement, and the slip when first planted is but single, yet afterwards it shoots out several branches, which though never so numerous, and at some distance one from the other, yet communicate all in the same body and root: The design of the Gospel is not like those of the Authors of Sects, or Religious orders to have only a select company of followers, that are much at leisure, but great and comprehensive, and suited to the whole World: There is no Sex, no Capacity, no condition but is design'd to be brought into the Church, and to be digested the most commodiously that may be, so that there *may be one fold under one Shepherd*, Christ the Universal Pastor: The Schools of the Philosophers and the Synagogues of the Jews were too narrow foundations for such a

building as that of the Christian Church; which are to be larger in proportion to the greatness of the Fabrick: and it is no less the length than beauty of the whole to have its Stones and Timber, the parts of which it consists, of something a greater magnitude than those of private and ordinary building: nor can it yet stand without there be some kind of coherence and connection, at least wise where the people that are members of the Church, are likewise united in a political communion, this connection ought particularly to be regarded, which the Apostles in their first planting of the Gospel had an eye to, as shall be observed farther in the course of Diocesan Episcopacy, which after this digression I am going to pursue.

The first Persecution that was raised against the Church of *Jerusalem* was by the good Providence of God turned into the happy occasion of planting several other Churches, and that storm which was designed to quench that fire that came down from Heaven, scattered the sparks of it into all the Regions round about: *Samaria* was the first place we read of that entertained the Gospel when it had been forced out of *Jerusalem*, *Philip* the Deacon *Preached Christ unto them, and the people with one accord gave heed to those things that were spoken by him: and when they believed they were Baptized both Men and Women.* Now the Apostles who re-

Acts 8. 1. v. 4. v. 5, 6. v. 12.

remained in *Jerusalem* when they heard of this success, send *Peter* and *John* thither, who confirm the believers by imposition of hands, and why could not *Philip* do this? he could dispossess unclean Spirits, and heal all manner of diseases, he could Preach powerfully, so as to Convert in a manner a whole City, and why could not he do all other Acts that were useful to the Church, but that these Apostles must be taking Authority upon them in his Church? it is something like *Diocesan Prelacy* to reserve any Acts of Order or Discipline to themselves: yet so it was that the holy Ghost was not given but by their hands and what kind of Government they established there, does not appear; and some pretend to give reasons why they did not appoint a Clergy there as afterwards they did in other places, because they say that *Samaria* was near enough to *Jerusalem* where the whole Council of the Apostles did reside, and thither their Bishop or Presbyters might repair for more solemn Ordination.

ὅπως γὰρ δυνάμεις μὲν ἔλαβεν ποιεῖν σημεῖα οὐχὶ δὲ πνεῦμα δίδοναι ἐτέρους; τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον. Schol. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ φίλιππος διάκονος ὢν οὐκ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν τῆς χειροθεσίας, Epiphan.

Chrysost. Oecumenius. Theophylact.

And that we may not think meaner of the success of the Apostles Ministry than we ought, and measure it by the progress of Sectaries, as *Anabaptists* and *Quakers*, as Mr. *B.* does, with too much disparagement

to the first Planters of Christian Religion; St. *Luke* gives us a short account of one visitation of St. *Peter*, that lets us see how wonderfully the Gospel prevail'd at first: for when that Apostle passed through all quarters, and came to the Saints that dwelled at *Lydda*, and healed miraculously a Person that had been long bed-ridden: *And all that dwelled at* Lydda *and* Saron *saw him and turned unto the Lord*: and this Town and Territory mentioned with it was large enough for a considerable Diocesan Church, nor is there any likelyhood, it was divided under several Church Governments, Mr. *H.* confessing that no City with the villages adjoyning had any more than one Bishop for a long time after this: and in the time of the Council of *Nice*. It was an Episcopal seat, for we find *Aetius* Bishop of this place among the subscriptions of that Council,

Acts 9. 32, 33. &c.

Saron Tractus quidam Regionis non procul à Cæsaria.

Λύδδα κώμη πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσα *Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 5.*

Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 2. c. 37.

Lydda Civitas Palestinæ quæ diospolis appellatur. Hieron de loc. Heb.

The next considerable Church that was founded, was that of *Antioch*, the greatest City of all the East, and the Church did soon bear a good proportion to the greatness of the City: *For the hand of God was with them* (the scattered Disciples) *and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord*: and when *Barnabas* had come from *Jerusalem* to

Acts 11. 21.

assist in this work. *Much people was added unto the Lord*, and when *Barnabas* had brought *Paul* to *Antioch*, they assembled themselves with the Church, *and taught much people*: v. 26. It is not unlikely that all these Proselytes mentioned hitherto were Jews, or such as were Proselytes of the Gate, and had renounced Idolatry, and such must the *Greeks* be to whom those of *Cyprus* Preach'd the word at *Antioch*, v. 20. for *Paul* and *Barnabas* sometime after tell the Church of *Antioch* as an extraordinary thing, that God *had opened the door of Faith to the Gentiles*: and there is no doubt but they were incouraged by that success to Preach to the Gentiles at *Antioch* too, while *they abode there a long time with the Disciples*: and the multitude of these Gentile Converts made the question about Circumcision of so great importance, as to require a determination of all the Apostles and the whole Church of *Jerusalem* assembled in Council: for before that, there were not only several Congregations probably, but separate Churches: and the people were not only distributed but divided, and rent into separate assemblies: unless we shall interpret this separation to be rather a scruple relating to Converſation and Diet, than to publick and Church Communion as it is most likely; though even this must have likewise an evil influence upon their v. 24. Acts 14. 27. Gal. 2. 12. compared with Acts 15. 1. ὑπέστειλε καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν —— καὶ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι συνυπεκρίθησαν.

Communion too: for it is not likely the Jews, if they ſtood ſo much upon the Law about choice of meats, ſhould care much for the Communion of the Gentiles, whom they fanſied to be prophane and polluted by the tranſgreſſion of that Law; *Baronius* makes two Biſhops of *Antioch* together at this time upon the account of theſe diſſenſions, *Evodius* and *Ignatius*, the one choſen by *Paul*, the other by *Peter*, but the miſery is, that the Author that gives this light is confeſſed to miſtake, by making *Paul* to chuſe *Ignatius*, and *Peter Evodius*, whereas *Chryſoſtom* ſayes the contrary, that *Ignatius* was ordained by *Peter*: and to ſpeak freely, I believe this no better than what *Baronius* would forbid his reader to imagine, *a ſilium* which he was forced to make ſhift with to reconcile the contradictions of *Euſebius* and *Chryſoſtom*, the former making *Peter* to be dead before *Evodius*, to whom he makes *Ignatius* to ſucceed; the latter expreſly affirming that Apoſtle to have ordained him: For my part, I believe that the traditional Chronology of *Euſebius*, and the preciſe time of the Succeſſion and Government of the firſt Biſhops was no otherwiſe known to him) is not a Foundation firm enough to build any Opinion upon; eſpecially when we conſider, that the place as well as time of St. *Peters* Martyrdom is queſtioned, not without ſome appearance of Reaſon, and the whole buſineſs is involved in ſo many difficulties: *Blondel* takes great pain

Martyrolog. Rom. Feb. 1.

Clemens Conſt. l. 7. c. 46.

Orat. in S. Ignat.

Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 22. Ed. Valeſii.

Euſeb. Chronicon.

Vid. Diſſert. Spanhemii Blond. Præfat. Apol. pro ſent. H.

pains to confute the conjecture of *Baronius* but advances another of his own more ſtrange and improbable, and what is yet worſe draws important conſequences from it, and pretends by theſe ſeeming contradictions to diſcover the nature of Primitive Epiſcopacy, and the ancient Law of Succeſſion: But all that is trifling. It is plain of *Chryſoſtom*, that he thought *Ignatius* the immediate ſucceſſor of *Peter*, and therefore makes no mention of *Evodius* at all: unleſs one ſhall ſay that *Peter* might ordain *Ignatius* as he did *Timothy* or *Titus* as an Evangeliſt, and that afterwards he became the fixed Biſhop of *Antioch*: though *Chryſoſtoms* words will hardly bear that ſenſe, and refer to the Epiſcopal Office at large: But however it fare either with *Baronius* his divided Epiſcopacy, or *Blondel*'s Succeſſion by ſeniority, it is highly probable, that the Biſhop of *Antioch* even at this time was a Dioceſan, having the overſight of a Church that was diſtributed into ſeveral Congregations, for if we reflect upon the multitudes ſaid to be converted, the number of Apoſtles, and extraordinary Labourers commonly reſiding in this City: the conjunction of Jews and Gentiles under the common title and profeſſion of Chriſtianity, we muſt conclude that the Church of *Antioch* was too great for one Congregation, eſpecially before the place of aſſembly can be imagin'd very capacious: and I believe Mr. *B.* does not imagine ſuch vaſt

Cathedrals as *Paul's* to be very Primitive.

Orat de S. Ign. But what ever number of Christians there might be at that time, *Ignatius* his Bishoprick was never the less Diocesan in its constitution and design, or else *Chrysostom* mistakes one Topick of his commendation: He reckons five things that were much to his honour: whereof two bring him under suspition of Diocesan Prelacy, μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς, the greatness of his Authority, or Government: μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως, the greatness of the City whereof he was Bishop: The first I suppose refers to his metropolitan Power, the second to his peculiar Diocess, but if this Bishop were to have but one Congregation, what would the greatness of the City signifie? how many more would have the same honour with him? Or what so great difference is there between a full Congregation in the heart of the City, and another as full in *Chelsey*? at leastwise what honour does the greatness of the City do the Minister of that single Congregation?

And now to pass by the Church of *Corinth*, where St. *Paul* Preach'd for a Year and six Months, upon a Divine assurance of extraordinary success, and that God had *much people in that place*, and where *many* effectually *believed and were Baptized*, where *Peter* and *Apollos* Preached with that effect as to leave many Disciples, who called themselves by their names: And to

Acts 18. 8, 9, 10, 11. 1 Cor. 3. 4.

say

ſay nothing of *Epheſus* where a numerous Church is ſaid to have been gathered by St. *Paul* who preached there for two years, and not only they that dwelled at *Epheſus*, *but all that dwelt in* Aſia, *heard the word of the Lord*, and the progreſs of the Goſpel was ſo conſiderable, that the ſhrine-makers apprehended the ruine of their Trade, when they ſaw and heard that *Paul* not only at *Epheſus*, but throughout all *Aſia*, *had perſwaded and turned away much people.* To paſs by theſe, and ſeveral other eminent Churches, Let us conſider the Dioceſs of *Rome*, as it was yet in the Apoſtles time.

Acts 19. 10. v. 26.

It is very uncertain who laid the firſt Foundations of this Church, though certain it is, that before *Pauls* coming there the Goſpel was not only received, but their Church was very conſiderable; for St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle written long before his coming there, as he himſelf witneſſes, ſayes, that their *Faith was ſpoken of through the whole World*: and by the multitude of ſalutations in the end of that Epiſtle, he makes appear the numbers of Chriſtians in that City: *Salute* Priſcilla *and* Aquila, *with the Church that is in their houſe*: This was one of the Congregations of that Church, which is occaſionly mentioned, and it is not improbable that ſeveral that are mentioned with *all the Saints* that are with them, may

Rom. L. 13, 15, 17. *& ſeq.*

Rom. 16. *Oſtendit Congregationem Fidelium Eccleſiam nominari. Hieron in loc.* Ἐκκλησίαν. *Cœtum Fidelium: nec mirum eſt in tam amplâ civitate diſtinctos fuiſſe Fidelium cœtus. Beza.*

be

be the Officers of several Congregations; For it appears that most of these were of the Ministry, and such by whose means the Romans believed, and that they were strangers come thither from other parts where *Paul* had known them, for as yet he had not seen *Rome*: And this number was afterwards increased considerably by the coming of *Paul*, who converted some of the Jews, and afterwards received all that came, whether Jews or Gentiles, and Preach'd to them the Kingdom of God, for the space of two whole years, no man forbidding him: And the progress of the Gospel in this City may be farther observed from the Persecution of *Nero*, who is said to have put an infinite multitude of them to Death, upon pretence that they had fired *Rome*; and the Heathen Historian sayes, that they who confess'd were first laid hold on, then a vast company were convicted by their indication, where by the by, besides the multitude of the sufferers, we may take notice, that the words seem to be mistaken generally, as if the Christians some of them had confess'd the Fact, and accused the rest, *Lipsius* thus understanding the passage, gives *Tacitus* the lye; but he does not say they confessed the fact, but they confessed without expressing the

Congregationem virt. Eras. Istos omnes quos salutat intelligimus ex nominibus fuisse peregrinos per quorum exemplum utq; Doctrinam non absurde existimamus credidisse Romanos. Hieron.

Ingens multitudo, haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Tac. H. l. 15.

the particulars; but what did they confess then? If it were this Crime that they own'd themselves, and charg'd others with, how comes he to add that they were not convicted so much of this Crime, by this Indication as by the hatred of all mankind? therefore this confession was no more than owning themselves to be Christians, and the hatred they were in, made this sufficient conviction.

To these instances of the great numbers of Christians in some more considerable Cities, I shall add only the general account which *Eusebius* gives of the success of the Christian faith immediately after the first discovery of it. That presently in all Cities and Villages, Churches abounding with innumerable multitudes, were assembled; and the Granary of Christ was fill'd up to the top with the Wheat that was gather'd in.

Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 3. ἀνὰ πάσας πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας πληθυούσης ἄλλωνος δίκην μυρίανδροι καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀθρόως ἐκκλησίαι συνετήκεσαν.

Hitherto I have observ'd chiefly the growth of Christianity under the Apostles, and that there was in some Cities such a number of Christians, as could not meet together in one Assembly, for personal Communion in Doctrine and Worship: The next thing we must shew in order to Diocesan Episcopacy must be, that such numbers of believers made but one Church Govern'd by one Bishop.

As

As to the Church of *Jerusalem* we have shew'd already from the most ancient Ecclesiastical writings, that *James* the *Just* was Bishop of that Church, *i. e.* of all the Believers in *Jerusalem*: Nor is that Tradition without ground in the Scripture it self, for
Gal. 1. 19. St. *Paul* reckons *James the Lords Brother* among the Apostles of that Church, though he were none of the Twelve; and in another place he mentions him as a person in
v. 12. Eminent place and authority there, one that had sent several Brethren to *Antioch* [*before that certain Brethren came from James.*] Here we find the style of the Scripture to alter in favour of Episcopacy, for hitherto the Messengers who were sent from one Church to another, were said to be sent in the name of the Church in
Act. 8. General: as the Church of *Jerusalem* sent *John* and *Peter* to *Samaria*: In like matter the
v. 11. Church sent *Barnabas* to *Antioch*: But now it seems they come from *James*, and the Acts of the Church, pass in the name of the Bishop only, although after this we find this Style to vary again; and sometimes the Church of such a place sends to another without the mention of the Bishop, though the letter be pen'd by the Bishop himself, as the inscription of *Clemens* his Epistle to the *Corinthians* does inform us: and lastly, as the authority of *James* appears by sending to the Church of *Antioch*, so it does likewise from his speech in the Council of *Jerusalem*, where he seems to preside, and determines

mines the queſtion in diſpute, in the name of the whole Aſſembly. All this conſider'd together with the Teſtimonies of *Hegeſippus* and *Clemens*, there can be as little doubt that *Doceſan Epiſcopacy* was ſetled by the Apoſtles in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, as there is of any thing that is not expreſly ſet down in Scripture; and it cannot be deni'd without rejecting the moſt Authentick records of Church Hiſtory. Act. 9

It is to be confeſs'd that the Scriptures have not left ſo full and perfect account of the conſtitution and Government of the firſt Churches as might be wiſh'd, for the Acts of the Apoſtles the only Scripture Hiſtory of thoſe time, relate moſtly the victories of Chriſtian Religion, how ſeveral Cities were converted: By what miracles, by what Argument or exhortation: but before the Holy Pen-man comes to give an account of the ſettlement of thoſe new Conqueſts, he carries away the Reader from thence, to follow the Apoſtles to ſome other place, where they begin to lay the Foundations of another Church: Thus we have no more notice of the Churches of *Samaria* and of *Judea* (*Jeruſalem* excepted) than that ſuch were founded by the Apoſtles; but of their Government, and conſtitution we ave not the leaſt information; and the proſpect left of *Antioch* in Scripture, is very confus'd as of a Church *in fieri*, where a great number of Eminent perſons,

persons, labour'd together to the building of it up, but after what form does not appear but only from Eccleſiaſtical Writers, who report that this Church when it was ſetled and digeſted, was committed to the Government of *Evodius*, and after him to *Ignatius*, and the ſucceeding Biſhops.

Euſeb. l. 3. c. 22. Chronicon. Chryſoſt. Orat. de Ignatio.

Nevertheleſs we are not left deſtitute of all light in this particular even from the Scriptures, the Hiſtory of St. *Paul*, as it is deliver'd by St. *Luke* in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and by himſelf ſcatteringly in his own Epiſtles, informing us in ſome meaſure of the from of the Primitive Church Government in the Apoſtles times.

This *Apoſtle of the Gentiles* did commonly uſe this method informing thoſe Churches he had converted, as may be ſeen by conſulting the Citations in the Margin.

Rom. 15. 20. 1 Cor. 3. 10. Acts 9. 20, 13, & 14. Acts 13. 46.

When he came to any place *where the Goſpel had not been preached* (and he did not affect much *to build upon another mans foundation*) he preached firſt in the *Synagogues of the Jews*, and if they *rejected the grace of God, he turn'd to the Gentiles.* Aſſoon as he had converted a competent number, he took care to improve them in the knowledge of the truth, and for that purpoſe taught them conſtantly either at his own houſe, or at ſome publick School as that of *Tyrannus* or any other convenient place where a good number might aſſemble together: Theſe converts as they were made Partakers of the ſame common Doctrine

1 Cor. 3. 2. Acts 28. 30. 19. 9. 20. 20.

ctrine and Faith; so they were to be perpetually united by a Communion in worship, in Prayer, and the Sacrament: for it was not with the School of the Apostles as with those of this World, which the Disciples leave when they conceive themselves to have learn'd what they came for: But there was an obligation upon all these Scholars to Assemble themselves together, till they came to a perfect man, which was not consummated till after this life: Nor was the Relation between Christians dissolved when the Congregation was dissmiss'd, but they were united farther into one Society or Corporation, into a holy City, under the Government of Christ their King, and under Apostles and such other Officers of his, and their appointment: and so far to act and determine all things within themselves that they were not to appear before any Heathen Magistrate upon any difference, but to referr it to the Brethren, or to the Apostle under whose direction they were.

Acts. 11. 26. Heb. 10. 25. Rom. 12. 5. 1 Cor. 12. 13. 12. 22. Phil. 2. 12.

ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἄλλο σύστημα πατρίδος κτίσθεν λόγῳ θεοῦ ἐπιστάμενοι τοὺς δυνατοὺς λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ ὑγιεῖ χρωμένους ἀρχεῖν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἐκκλησίαν προκαλοῦμεν. *Orig. cont. Cels. l. 8. in fine.*

Thus far we may consider a Church without any other Officer than the Apostle who converted them; but their numbers increasing in that place and much of his time being taken up in disputing with, and preaching to unbelievers, and gainsayers, or this Apo-

Acts 9. 29. 17. 17. 19. 8, 9. 6. 4. Acts 14. 23. Phil. 2. 12. 20. 17. Apostle being call'd away to preach the Gospel in other places, it was necessary to ordain such Church Officers as might take care of this Church, in the Doctrine and Discipline of it, and others to take care of the poor, lest that Office taking up much time, might be a hinderance to those who were to guide the Assembly in Doctrine and Worship: Now this constitution does not take away the relation that was between this Church and the Apostle that founded it, and these Officers act in subordination to him whether present or absent: and St. *Paul* therefore looks upon himself as the Apostle, or Bishop of the *Corinthians* though he could 1 Cor. 5. 3. Acts 15. 36. not hold personal Communion with them: for sometimes he goes a Circular visitation to examine the State of those Churches which he had planted: or if the distance, and occasions of that Church where he resided, or his imprisonment, and other outward Circumstances, would not admit this personal visitation, he sends his letters and orders what is to be done: If any open Scandal be permitted he sends his 1 Cor. 5. 3, 4, 5. Excommunication to be publish'd in that Church whereof the offender was a member, *he judges as though he were present*; he orders *that when they are met together in his spirit*, they would *deliver* the Criminal to *Satan*: And because some of the Teachers in the Church of *Corinth* began to set up themselves in opposition to the Apostle, taking

Cum meo spiritu qui pro me erat præsens, sive in meorum literarum authoritate. Hieron.

taking advantage of his abſence, and uſing all means to leſſen him in the eſteem of that people, he is forced to aſſert his Authority, and to juſtifie his Title, to let them know that he was their Father, their Apoſtle, and that they owed him ſtill the duty of Children notwithſtanding his abſence; and laſtly, that he would come to them ſhortly by way of Apoſtolical viſitation and examine the power of thoſe that entred into competition with him: For as far as his *Line* or *Dioceſs*, or *Province* did extend, ſo far he pretended a peculiar Authority to govern, and exerciſed Dioceſan juriſdiction upon all within his *Rule*.

1 Cor. 4. 12, 15. 9. 1, 2. 5. 19.

Rom 15. 19. 2 Cor. 10. 13. *to* 16.

τὸ μέτρον τῆς κανόνος — ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι. *Diœceſis ſive certus Paſtorum & Eccleſiarum numerus: unit. Frat. Bohem. Sect. de Antiſt. Regulam vocat Ditionem, & præſcriptam Prædicationis Terminum. Salmuron.*

But when this *Line* was ſo far extended, that he neither was able to viſit every part himſelf, and his communication by Letters would not anſwer all the occaſions of thoſe Churches he had planted, he provides for them not by leaving every Congregation Independent, and reſigning all Authority into the hands of every particular Presbytery; but by ſending Perſons endued not only with extraordinary gifts, but with Apoſtolical power to ordain Elders, to end diſputes, to cenſure the unruly and irregular, whether of the Clergy or People, to con-

1 Tim. 1. 3, 18. c. 2. 14, 15. c. 4. 12, 14. c. 5. 21. 22. Tit. 1. 5. c. 2. 15.

fute Hereticks, to preach the Gospel, and in short by all means to provide for thee welfare of those Churches committed to them: And now as the Apostle had before ordained assistant Elders in the several Churches which he had planted, for the ordinary attendance of the Congregation; so now he takes to himself Assistants of another sort, *Suffragans* for the Service of his Province, which he distributed as he found most expedient, and these in the Apostles time were sometimes called Apostles, or Evangelists, Bishops, Presbyters, Fellow-Labourers, Helpers, Deacons, *&c.* but their successors leaving greater and more invidious titles contented themselves with the name of Bishops, which was common to them with ordinary Presbyters at first, though the Offices were alwayes distinct.

εἰθὼς παρὰ τούτους κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν δώδεκα πλείστων ὅσων ὑπαρξάντων τῶν Ἀποστόλων. *Euseb. l.* 1. *c.* 12.

Of this kind we have several mentioned in Scripture of St. *Pauls* Province, as *Barna-*

Τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προσηγορίαν τοῖς πάλαι καλουμένοις ἀποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν. *Theod in* 1 Tim. 3. Phil. 3. 25. ὑμῶν ἀπόστολον· *acceperat in illis Apostolatus officium. Hieron in locum.*

Μαρτυρικὴ τιμοθέου τοῦ ἀποστόλου συγγραφή. *Anonym. ap. Phot.* σ. ν δ.

Καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι διάκονοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐκαλοῦντο. *Chrysost.*

Τιμοθέῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι ἔλεγε τὴν διακονίαν σοῦ πληροφόρησον. *Chrysost. in Timoth.*

bas,

bas, *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Crescens*, *Epaphraditus*, *Sosthenes*, and some others that had no relation to him, as *James* the Just, *Mark*, *Linus*, *Clemens*, &c. These exercised Episcopal jurisdiction in that district where they were appointed, Ordained Presbyters, received accusations against them, Reprov'd and censur'd them as there was cause, and in short govern'd those Churches over which they were appointed by full Apostolical power, which was transmitted to their successors.

But the extraordinary abilities of some of these men, and the occasions of several other Churches, made their residence less constant in the Dioceſs where they were plac'd, than otherwise might have been expected, and therefore *Timothy* the Bishop and Apostle of *Ephesus* is called to *Rome* by St. *Paul* to be imployed as the necessities of the Church should require; *Titus* is sent to *Dalmatia*, though *Crete* were his first Province, but this concludes no more against their being Diocesans, than the Voyage of *Germanus* and *Lupus* into *Britain*, to oppose the Pelagian Heresy, would conclude against their being Bishops. Now what care was taken for those Churches which these Apostolick Diocesans left, whether they ordained any in their place, or whether they returned again to their Provinces is not mentioned in Scripture: But Ecclesiastical Records shew an uninterrupted Succession from the Bishops in several Churches.

2 Tim. 4. 9.

Phil. 2.

Nor do we find that they were all so unfixed as they are represented by the adversaries of Episcopacy, for *Mark* who was the first Bishop of *Alexandria*, remained in that Province, planting Churches in the Country round about, and governing them by Apostolical Authority, which after his Martyrdom there, was derived to his successuors in the same charge.

Euseb. Hist. l. 2. c. 16. Niceph. l. 2. c. 43. Gelas. in Conc. Rom. in decr. de lib. Auth.

Now this order being of perpetual use, and necessity in the Church, to ordain Presbyters, and Deacons, to exercise discipline, to preserve unity, they were multiplyed according as the Apostles found most expedient for the Church, and the most eminent Cities became the Residence of these first Bishops, not because God takes greater care of Cities than he does of lesser Towns and Villages, but because the Apostles thought it the most natural way to follow the distribution that was then in the more civilz'd part of the world: St. *John* a little while before his death mentions seven in the *Lydian Asia*, under the name of Angels of the Churches, nor is it probable there were any more in that Province: *The Seven Churches* being the same with *all the Churches* mentioned in the next Chapter, and *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* concludes

Rev. 1. 20. 2. 23.

ἕπτα ἐκκλησίαις ἰσάριθμοι ἐφόροι ἄγγελοι λέγονται. Andr. Cæsar.

Ego puto simul inveniri posse Angelum & hominem bonos Ecclesiæ Episcopos. Origen in Lucam, Hom. 13.

Τῷ πρεσβῶτι, *ut Collegas moneat* **Beza.**

Ad Episcopum loci dirigitur. Paræus.

the

the ſame thing out of St. *John*, *Cum in Aſia ſeptem tantum hiſce temporibus eſſent Epiſcopi ut in Apocalypſi legere eſt, nec majorem eorum numerum in* Ponto *tunc fuiſſe probabile eſt* : But Dr. *Hammond* makes all theſe Angels to be *Metropolitans*, having ſeveral Biſhops under them, for the reaſons I muſt refer the reader to his Diſſertations. *Geogr. Sacra, p. 289. Diſſert. 4. c. 5. Quod ſi de Angelis ſuperiorum Cœlorum, & non de præpoſitis Eccleſiæ intelligi vellet, non conſequenter diceret.——Laudatur ſub Angeli nomine præpoſitus Eccleſiæ; Aug. Ep. 162.*

Thus far the Scripture diſcovers the riſe and progreſs of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, which was the form of Church Government under the Apoſtles, who had large Provinces to ſupervise, and their ſuffragans, ſuch as are commonly called Evangeliſts, had ſeveral Congregations to govern, and this was undeniably the conſtitution of the Church in the firſt age; the next thing we are to inquire is, whether the Office expired with thoſe Perſons, or was deſigned to be of perpetual uſe in the Church.

The Adverſaries of Epiſcopacy are not all agreed as to this point, the Presbyterians generally looking upon the offices of Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, extraordinary as the perſons were: Mr. *B.* is ſomething more ſcrupulous, becauſe he does not find any where, that Chriſt deſign'd to have this alter'd, and yet he condemns Dioceſan Epiſcopacy as being altogether different from it. I have ſaid ſomething to this already,

ready, and therefore I shall answer here more briefly:

1. That we have no reason to believe from Scripture that the Office of Apostles or Evangelists which concerned the Government of the Church was extraordinary, and for a time only; and the extraordinariness of their gifts can be no argument against their continuance, for notwithstanding they did many miraculous things, yet they never could contrive to be in two places at the same time, and as to their governing of several Congregations, they were under the same inconveniences with their successors: They visited from place to place, they called the Presbyters of some Churches to them to give them directions, they proceeded by information, and legal evidence, and what was possible to them to do in these cases, is not become impossible to those that succeed them.

2. All other offices had extraordinary men in those dayes, and the same argument will hold against Presbyters and Deacons as against Bishops, for the first Deacons that were elected were men *full of the Holy Ghost*.

3. The unfixedness of these is no argument against the reason of their continuance, and all that will follow from that is no more than this, that if it was essential to their office to be unfixed they ought to be so still, and not to cease to be at all.

4. All

4. All of them were not unfixed, and if they had been ſo, it does not follow that the nature of their office requires it, it might be no more than accidental.

5. That they governed ſeveral Churches, and were Arch-Biſhops; As to the notion of Church or Churches, it is not very material whether we ſay, Biſhop of one or of many Churches; for many worſhipping Churches may make but one Governing Church, and worſhipping Churches may have their officers too, as our Pariſhes, but ſtill in ſubordination to the Biſhop, as the ſeveral Churches under theſe Evangeliſts and Apoſtles were ſubordinated to them, in matter of Diſcipline, and Ordination.

But becauſe many depend upon the title, which theſe ſecondary Apoſtles have in Scripture, as *Timothy* is commanded *to do the work of an Evangeliſt*, it is neceſſary to obſerve that it was not all their work, to Preach and Propagate the Goſpel, but to ſettle Churches, to govern them, to ordain Officers, to cenſure offenders, theſe are the things particularly given in Charge, that of Evangeliſts was common to them with divers others. But ordination is made their peculiar right: For why did *Paul* leave *Timothy* and *Titus*, one in *Epheſus*, the other in *Crete* to ordain Elders? Were there not Presbyters in *Epheſus* already? Might not they ordain? Might not they *receive Accuſations*, and Excommunicate? Why then was there one ſingle Perſon left

to do all this? and in *Crete*, it is not to be conceived, but that since St. *Paul* had converted several to the faith in that Island, he also had ordained some Church Officers in those places of the Island where he most resided: Or what need had he to leave a Bishop behind him to ordain, when he might by the ordination of a few Presbyters in one City provided sufficiently for ordination in the rest? or lastly since this ordination is made so insignificant by Mr. *B.* why might not these Believers have appointed their own Teachers without any further circumstance; and by an instance of their power have freed Posterity from the superstition of thinking Apostolical Ordination, and succession so requisite to Authorize Pastors? But since the Apostles ordained all Ecclesiastical Officers by themselves, or their συνεργοι their Assistants, their suffragan Bishops, and left some of them on purpose to do this work, it is plain that they conceived some kind of necessity for it, and did not look upon the power so common or insignificant, as later projectors of Church settlements would make us believe.

Now as the Scripture discovers no other sort of Episcopacy, than such as we have discribed; so the ancient Bishops knew of no other Original of their Office, for they conceived themselves to be derived from the Apostles, not as ordinary Presbyters or Deacon, but to succeed them in such a pre-

preheminence of dignity and power as their first Assistants were endued with: And *Eusebius* whose diligence nothing could escape, and whose judgment was not easily imposed on, after all his search could find no other Original of Episcopacy, and derives the Bishops of the most eminent Cities of the Empire from the Apostles, and their Assistants whom they appointed as the first Bishops of the Church: *How many* (sayes he) *and who they were that followed the example of the Apostles, and were thought worthy to govern those Churches which they founded is not easy to say; besides these which St.* Paul *mentions in his Epistles, he indeed had a great number of Assistants, and as he calls them fellow Souldiers whose names are preserved in his Epistle*: *And* Luke *in the Acts of the Apostles makes mention of some of them*: *Among these* Timothy *is said to have been first Bishop of* Ephesus, Titus *the Bishop of the Churches of* Crete. Crescens *was sent to* Gallatia, as the present reading of St. *Pauls* Epistle is, but as *Eusebius* read it, to *Gallia*; Linus *whom he mentions in his second to* Timothy, *was made Bishop of the Church of* Rome *next to* Peter *and* Clemens, *who succeeded* Linus, *is owned by* Paul *as his fellow labourer. And Lastly,* Dionysius *the* Areopagite *whom St.* Paul *mentions as the first Convert of* Athens *is reported to have been the first Bishop of that Church, by another* Dionysius *a very Ancient writer and Bishop of* Corinth: This was the rise of Episcopacy according to *Eusebius* and

Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 4. ζηλωταὶ τῶν ἀπὸ ςόλων. παροικίας τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπισκοπὴν ὅτι τὰς Γαλλίας

and the progreſs of it he takes care to ſhew by ſetting down the ſucceſſours of theſe and other Biſhops to his own time: *Ignatius* derives the Original of Epiſcopacy a little higher yet, from Chriſt himſelf the Univerſal Biſhop, and compares the Biſhop with his Bench of Presbyters, to Chriſt ſitting in the midſt of his Apoſtles, and is the moſt expreſs and vehement of all the Ancients in ſetting out the dignity and preheminence of the Biſhop: *Irenæus* deduces the Epiſcopal Authority from the ſame Original; and makes the Succeſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles, to be his principal argument againſt the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks of his time; and becauſe it was endleſs to make a perfect enumeration of thoſe who ſucceeded the Apoſtles in all the Churches of the World, he inſtances in that of *Rome* where *Linus* was firſt ordained Biſhop, then *Clemens*, and ſo on to his own time; and in another place propoſes it as the only remedy againſt Hereſy, to obey thoſe that have a due ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, who though they are there called *Presbyteri*, yet it is plain who he means by them when he adds, that they are the ſame which he ſhewed before to have ſucceeded the Apoſtles, which were thoſe Biſhops he had given a Catalogue

Ep. ad Smyrn. ad Ephes. ad Magn.

Valde longum eſſet in tali volumine enumerare Succeſſiones. l. 3. c. 3

Lino Epiſcopatum adminiſtrandæ Eccleſiæ tradiderunt Apoſtoli. ibid.

Polycarpus ab Apoſtolis in eâ quæ eſt Smyrnis conſtitutus Epiſcopus —— qui uſq; adhuc ſucceſſerunt Polycarpo. ibid.

logue of before. And Laſtly, ſpeaking of the Biſhops to whom the Apoſtles committed the government of thoſe Churches they had planted, he makes them much ancienter than thoſe Hereticks that diſturbed the Church, and draws an argument from their Apoſtolick inſtitution, and their conſtant ſucceſſion in that office, againſt thoſe that brought in new Doctrines: *Tertullian* makes uſe of the ſame Argument, and requires of the Hereticks a ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles; and *Origen* ſpeaking of Biſhops makes them likewiſe to ſucceed the Apoſtles in their office: In ſhort it was the opinion of all the Ancients. And *Aerius* is looked upon by *Epiphanius* if not as a Heretick, yet at leaſt as an innovator for maintaining an equality between Biſhops and Presbyters: For if the Biſhop were only the firſt Presbyter, and the opinion of the Church was at that time that there was no Original difference between the Orders, *Epiphanius* could not have obſerved this as a ſingularity in *Aerius*, therefore the common opinion then being contrary to this notion, they muſt apprehend Epiſcopacy, to be the Apoſtolical Order, derived from the Apoſtles by a ſucceſſion:

Quapropter eis qui in Eccleſia ſunt Presbyteris obaudire oportet his qui ſucceſſionem habent ab Apoſtolis ſicut oſtendimus, qui cum Epiſcopatus ſucceſſione Chariſma veritatis certum acceperunt. *l. 7. c. 42.*

Omnes enim ii valde poſteriores quam Epiſcopi quibus Epiſcopi Eccleſias tradiderunt.

κατὰ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν Ἀστόλων ἐχουμένους κανόνος Ἰησοῦ χρ. κατὰ οὐρανίους ἐκκλησίας. *Origen.* φιλοκαλ. *c.* 1.

Hæreſ. 75.

First

First to those Assistants we have been speaking of, and from them to the Succeeding Bishops; I shall conclude with the testimony of *Theodoret*, whose judgment and knowledg of Ecclesiastical Antiquity was greater than ordinary: He makes Bishops at first to be called Apostles, and Presbyters to be called Bishops; and from such Apostles as *Epaphroditus* who was Bishop of *Philippi*, Bishops are descended according to his opinion, * but that out of modesty the Succeeding Bishops changed the title of Apostles for that of Bishops, and this for some time after was common to them with Presbyters, though the offices then were manifestly distinct.

τοὺς νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους, Ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον — τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προσηγορίαν τοῖς πάλαι καλουμένοις ἀποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν — οὕτω Φιλιππησίων Ἀπόστολος ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὧν οὕτω Κρήτων ὁ Τίτος, καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ὁ Τιμόθεος. *So also Clemens is said to be an Apostle, by Clemens Alexand. Strom. l. 4.*

All this considered, I cannot but wonder that the conjecture of St. *Jerom* concerning the Original of Episcopacy, against all the sense of Antiquity and the traditions of particular Churches concerning the Succession of their Bishops, gathered by *Eusebius*, should obtain not only among the professed Adversaries of that Order, but even among many that retain it: therefore for a further Confirmation of what we have said concerning the Original of Bishops: I shall indeavour to remove that prejudice which the Authority of *Jerom* has done it, who has ad-

advanced a ſingular notion in this particular, which I ſhall firſt ſet down as briefly as I can, and afterwards examine the grounds of it.

St *Jerom* obſerving the name of Biſhop and Presbyter uſed in Scripture promiſcuouſly, and without diſtinction, concludes, that the Office was not not then diſtinct, but that Biſhop and Presbyter were but two names to ſignifie the ſame order, but when diviſions were occaſioned in the Church by this parity between the Presbyters, the Churches who were governed before by a Colledg of Presbyters, for to remedy that evil, conſented that one ſhould be choſen out of the reſt, who ſhould be ſet over them, and be called more peculiarly their Biſhop, to whom the care of the whole Church ſhould appertain, that all the ſeeds and occaſions of Schiſm might be taken away: But that St. *Paul* and the *Ancients* make Biſhops and Presbyters to ſignifie the ſame thing: This is in ſhort the opinion of St. *Jerom* I will in the next place examine the ground of it.

Idem eſt ergo Presbyter qui Epiſcopus & antequam Diaboli inſtinctu ſtudia in Religione fierent, communi Presbyterorum Concilio Eccleſiæ gubernabantur. Poſtquam vero unuſquiſque eos quos Baptizaverat ſuos putabat eſſe, non Chriſti, in toto Orbe decretum eſt, ut unus de Presbyteris electus cæteris ſuperponeretur, ad quem omnis Eccleſiæ cura pertineret & Schiſmatum Semina tollerentur. Hieron. in Titum c. 1.

It is manifeſt by the allegations of *Jerom* in defence of his opinion that it was grounded

Apud veteres idem Epiſcopi & Presbyteri erant. idem Ep. ad Oceau. Cum Apoſtolus perſpicue docuit eoſdem eſſe Presbyteros quos & Epiſcopos. id. Ep. ad Evagr.

chief-

chiefly upon those places of Scripture where Bishops are called Presbyters, or Presbyters Bishops, and then from the synonomy of the names concludes to an Identity of the Office; and then he adds, *One may perhaps think this to be my sence and not that of the Scripture, let him read the Apostles words to the* Phil. 1. 1. Philippians, *his salutation of that Church with the Bishops and Deacons*, which he confirms by *Acts* 20. 27, 28. *Heb.* 13. 17. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. And now suppose all this is granted, that Presbyters are called Bishops, and they again Presbyters, yet I am afraid it will hardly follow that they are the same, and some of those texts cited by St. *Jerom* are sufficient proofs to the contrary; for that of *Peter, The Elders or Presbyters among you* 1 Pet. 1. 5. *who am my self an Elder*, if the reasoning of St. *Jerom* hold, will prove likewise that Apostles were no more than ordinary Presbyters; and if *Peter* were but a Presbyter we shall be at a great loss to find any Bishops in Scripture that were superior to Presbyters; and to the same purpose *Jerom* cites those texts of St. *John, The Elder to the elect* 2 John 1. *Lady, The Elder to his beloved* Gaius, 3 John 1. which plainly overthrows his Argument; for if an Apostle were of an office superior to a Presbyter properly so called, and yet is called Presbyter in Scripture, then Bishops might be of a superior degree to Presbyters though they might some time be so called: or if it be replyed that *these Presbyters again are called Bishops*, it does not alter the case at all,

all, for so some Messengers of Churches are called Apostles, as *Andronicus* and *Junia who were of note among the Apostles*: Besides there were several of the Fathers that observed this Synonomy of Bishop and Presbyter as well as *Jerom*, but could not observe the necessity of his inference, that therefore there were then no Bishops but Presbyters; *Chrysostom* confesses the titles were confounded, but he takes notice likewise that all other Ecclesiastical titles were so as well as these, that Bishops were sometimes called Deacons, and that *Timothy* being a Bishop was commanded to fulfil his ministry or his Deaconship; nor did he wonder at this at all, since in his own time the Bishops when they wrote to Presbyters or Deacons owned them as Brethren, and called them their fellow Presbyters, or fellow Deacons, συνπρεσβυτέρῳ, καὶ συνδιακόνῳ: which he did not take at all to derogate from the dignity of their Order, no more than the modesty of the Apostles calling themselves Presbyters or Deacons could be a prejudice to the Preheminence of their Apostleship, which they took care to vindicate when they were forced to it by the ambition of some teachers that entred into competition with them: *Theodoret* observ'd the same promiscuous use of Bishop and Presbyter, but could yet see that there were Bishops then superior to Presbyters, and in that time properly called Apostles: The

Rom. 16.

Chrysost. in Ep. ad Phil. c. 1.

καὶ διάκονος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο: τιμοθέῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι ἔλεγε τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον.

Theodor. ubi supra in Ep. ad Phil. ad Tim. Tit.

Greek

Greek Scholiaſt, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenus* ſaw the ſame, but were ſtill of opinion that the Epiſcopal office was alwayes diſtinct from the Presbyters; ſo that the ground upon which *Jerom* built his conjecture, was rejected by the current of Eccleſiaſtical writers, who could diſcern the preheminence of Biſhops above Presbyters, notwithſtanding the names were confounded: And yet this is the foundation upon which that conceit doth wholly ſtand: all *Jeroms* allegations are to this effect, all the additional confirmations of *Salmaſius* and *Blondel*, are no other than from the phraſe of ſome of the Ancients, who do not alwayes diſtinguiſh between Biſhops and Presbyters, but ſpeak in the phraſe of the Scriptures, and yet there is nothing more evident than that at that time, when theſe Authors writ, Biſhops and Presbyters were diſtinguiſhed, and excepting only *Clemens Romanus*, *Blondel* and *Salmaſius* do both acknowledg it.

But to return to *Jerom*, Let us conſider the account he gives of the Original of Epiſcopacy ſomething more particularly: *Before there were factions in Religion, the Church was governed by Presbyters of equal Authority*: But what factions were theſe that gave birth to Epiſcopacy? What time was that when the Church was under Presbyterian government? He informs us in the following words: *Before it was ſaid, I am of* Paul, *and I of* Apollos, *and I of* Cephas:

phas: If we underſtand this according to the letter, we muſt conclude this to be very early: For this Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, where that diviſion is mentioned, was written in the year of Chriſt 52: And then this notion will do little ſervice againſt Epiſcopacy: for this will make it of Apoſtolick inſtitution. Beſides I do not ſee how it can be true: for the Church was now Governed by Apoſtles, and not by Presbyters: and if in moſt Cities there were no particular Biſhop ordained yet, it was becauſe the Apoſtles were their Biſhops, and viſited them to eſtabliſh good order, to ordain officers, to puniſh the diſorderly, as they had opportunity; and when they were not able to be preſent, they ſent their orders in writing, and exerciſed Epiſcopal Authority at a diſtance: But *Blondel* contends earneſtly againſt the literal underſtanding of that paſſage, and ſhews that *Jerom* could not mean this of the Church of *Corinth*, but of ſome following Schiſm that ſprung up after the example of this of *Corinth*. His reaſon is, that the paſſages where by *Jerom* confirms his opinion of Biſhops and Presbyters being the ſame, were written after that Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. I have ſhewed before how probable it is that *Jerom* ſpoke without a figure; and I need not repeat it here. *But theſe things you will ſay cannot cannot conſiſt.* It may be ſo: and it is not certain that *Jerom* when he wrote this paſſage, did conſider in what order of time St. *Paul*'s

Epiſtles were written: what if it was an overſight for want of ſtating the Chronology of the New Teſtament? If it be replyed that *Jerom* a man of that great learning and diligence, and particular knowledg alſo in Chronology, as we may conclude from his tranſlating of *Euſebius* his *Chronicon*, could hardly commit ſuch a miſtake; It is to be conſidered that according to *Blondels* computation, who makes him to ſpeak of the ſecond Century, he will be as inconſiſtent with himſelf: for ſuppoſe we ſhould ſay that *Jerom* pointed to the year 135, as the preciſe time when the Presbyterian Government was changed, how ſhall we reconcile *Jerom* to himſelf: For in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical writers, he reckons ſeveral Biſhops long before that time, he makes *James* to be Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *ſtatim poſt Aſcenſionem*, preſently after the Aſcenſion of Chriſt. He calls *Timothy* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, he makes *Anianus* to ſucceed *Mark* in *Alexandria* in the eighth year of *Nero*. How ſhall we make all theſe things to conſiſt? did he think *James* to be no more than a ſimple Presbyter, or *Timothy* could he fanſie him to have no ſuperiority over the Elders he was to ordain or to govern? it is not poſſible: or ſhall we ſay that in theſe relations he only tranſcribes out of others, and that he does not ſpeak his own opinion: Well ſuppoſe this: Either he muſt have ſome Authority for his opinion greater than that of ſuch Authors

he

he follows in that Book; or not: if he had none, why ſhould we believe him againſt all Antiquity? Nay why ſhould we believe ſo uncharitably of him, as that he would deliver thoſe things he did not believe without the leaſt warning to the reader, or that he would believe any matter of fact againſt all the tradition and Hiſtory of the Church, and yet have no Authority for it? Or if he had any Authority from Eccleſiaſtical writers to ground his opinion upon, why are they not produc'd? Nay we may be aſſured in this point that he had none from that *Catalogue* of writers we are ſpeaking of, ſince he had ſeen none but what *Euſebius* had ſeen before him, and cites as we have ſhewed before for the contrary opinion, to confirm Epiſcopacy to be Apoſtolical, and to have begun long before this time, which *Blondel* would have *Jerom* thought to aſſign for its Original. So that what way ſoever *Jerom* be underſtood of the Original of Epiſcopacy, he is either manifeſtly inconſiſtent with himſelf, or with Scripture and Antiquity.

But his Scripture Authorities, you will ſay, *do ſufficiently prove that Epiſcopacy was not yet introduced into the Church.* Nothing leſs: unleſs they can prove that thoſe Presbyteries were not governed by the Apoſtle that eſtabliſhed them, or by ſome Aſſiſtant, or Suffragan; or unleſs they can make out that *Timothy*, *Titus* and divers others of that rank, were no more than ſimple Presbyters.

After this time (whensoever it was) St. *Jerom* adds, *It was decreed over all the world, that one of the Presbyters* (*who governed before in common*) *should be set over the rest.* In what Church in the whole world was this Decree Registred? Who ever heard of it before St. *Jerom*? What general Council passed it? What Authority made it Authentick? Or by what means did all the Churches in the World agree to this change? What, was there no opposition made against this alteration of the Apostolical Government? What, did all the little Ecclesiastick Aristocracies submit without dispute to this innovation? We may as well believe that there was a time when all the Republicks in the world, upon the consideration of their being obnoxious to Factions, became Monarchies by mutual consent: Nay this might with greater reason be believed, for it is not impossible but that men who are satisfied of their power to set up what form of Government they please, might agree to shake off together, a form that they find very incommodious: but that so many Societies as there were Churches in the World, appointed by divine direction, should so universally change what the Apostles had instituted without any noise or resistance, and that by one common decree, is altogether incredible, and one may say with the same reason, that they conspired at the same time to change their Creed.

Having

Having examined St. *Jeroms* ſingular opinion concerning the riſe of Epiſcopal Government, I ſhould now conclude that point, if *Clemens Romanus* in his excellent Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* did not ſeem to favour this opinion; therefore I think it neceſſary to conſider ſuch paſſages in it as are alledged againſt Epiſcopacy, and from the whole to make a conjecture of the ſtate of that Church when that Epiſtle was written.

The Inſcription of it affords *Blondel* an argument againſt Epiſcopacy, for it is not in the name of the Biſhop or Clergy, but of the whole Church that it is written: *The Church of God at* Rome *to the Church of God at* Corinth. From whence *Blondel* infers, that ſince there is no mention of the Clergy, it follows, that the Church was governed then not by the pleaſure of one man, but by the common Counſel of thoſe that were ſet over it: This way of reaſoning I muſt confeſs to be very extraordinary: *Becauſe there is no mention of the prerogative of the* Roman *Clergy, or of that of* Corinth *as diſtinguiſhed from the Laity, it's clear, nay clearer than the day,* that

ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον.

ubi cum nulla peculiaris vel ſcribentis mentio vel cleri Romani Prærogativa vel Corinthiaci Presbyterii a plebe diſcretio appareat, ſed omnes ad omnes conſentim ſcripſiſſe compertum ſit: luce meridiana clarius elucuſcit tunc temporis Eccleſias communi Præpoſitorum Conſilio gubernatas, non unius regimini à cujus nutu penderent omnes ſubjacuiſſe.

there was no Bishop. It would be a very strange thing to see two men with their eyes open, dispute fiercely whether it were noon-day or midnight: and yet this is our case; that consequence which to him is as clear as the Sun, does not at all appear to others. If he had said, because there is no mention of the Clergy in the Inscription as the Governing part, therefore there was no Clergy, or the Clergy did not govern, the inference would have appeared, but what truth there would be in it I need not say. Others inscribe Epistles in the same style, *to the Church of such a Place*, where notwithstanding there is a Bishop and a Clergy: And this Argument of *Blondel* may be justly suspected, when we consider that the Ancients though they were well acquainted with this Epistle of *Clemens* and its Inscription, yet they could by no means see this consequence that is now drawn from it. *Irenæus* had doubtless seen that Epistle, for it was in his time commonly read in Churches: and yet he thought *Clemens* who wrote it to be Bishop of *Rome*, notwithstanding his name be not mentioned in it. *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* sayes it was read in his Church, and yet he could not find any thing in it to perswade him that at that time there were no Bishops, but on the contrary he

Dionys. Corinth. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ παροικούσῃ Γορτυναν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ παροικούσῃ Ἄμασεων· *And yet in the body of these Letters he mentions the Bishops of those Churches.*
Irenæus ubi supra. Euseb. l. 4. c. 23.

he was of opinion that Biſhops were inſtituted by the Apoſtles, and that *Dionyſius Areopagita* was ordained by St. *Paul* the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*: ſo that theſe ancient writers it ſeems were as blind as we, and could not obſerve either in the Inſcription, or body of this Epiſtle what *Blondel* at ſuch a diſtance of time could perceive as *clear as the noon day*, and yet thoſe writers if they had ſuſpected any ſuch thing might have been eaſily ſatisfied by their Fathers, who might have ſeen the ſtate of the Church, about which the difficulty was, and ſo told them upon their own knowledge whether the Government was Epiſcopal or Presbyterian: And therefore this is our comfort that if we cannot diſcern this light which *Blondel* talks of, that thoſe who lived nearer the Eaſt, the riſing of it, could ſee no more than we: But ſome men ſurely have glaſſes for diſtance of time, as well as place, and can ſee farther in the Apoſtolick times than the next Generation that followed them. But to proceed.

Clemens owned but two orders in the Church of Apoſtolick Inſtitution, Biſhops and Deacons, which he ſayes the Apoſtles ordained out of the firſt-fruits of the Goſpel, over thoſe that ſhould afterwards believe. And theſe were appointed in Cities,

κατὰ χώρας δὴ καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίσανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.

and the Country, or Regions round about: from whence *Blondel* draws many observations, and out of him Mr. *B.* as 1. That in those days no body thought of what the Council of *Sardica* did afterwards decree, that no Bishop should be made in any Village, or small City, lest the dignity of that office should be undervalued, and grow cheap: This is grounded as most of the rest of *Blondels* and Mr. *B.*'s Arguments from this Epistle, upon a mistake, and I fear a wilful one concerning the name of Bishop: For if the Bishops of *Clemens* who he sayes were apponited κατὰ χώρας, were only Presbyters, then the Council of *Sardica* did not do any extraordinary thing by that prohibition of Bishops in little Dioceses, for Presbyters were still allowed in the Country Villages by that Council: and therefore if Episcopacy was an institution later than *Clemens*, this Council has done nothing so contrary to this, by forbidding Bishops properly so called, and allowing Presbyters to reside in Country Villages. Some there are that interpret κατὰ χώρας, by Provinces, but there is no necessity at all for this, though the phrase will very well bear it, for these Bishops I believe with *Blondel* and Mr. *B.* were no other than Presbyters, such as were first appointed to govern the Church, but in subordination to the Apostles, who were the proper Bishops of those Churches they founded, and as they found occasion, appointed others to succeed

ceed them in that eminence of Authority, over such districts of the Apostolical Provinces, as they judged most convenient for the edification and unity of the Church. And this distribution of Church Officers, by *Clemens* into Bishops and Deacons is the less to be depended upon as exact, because it seems to be made only with allusion to a place in the Old Testament where those titles are mentioned: Besides, the mentioning but these two sorts of Church Officers, may be done only according to the distinction of the several imployments in the Church, some being *Ministerial*, others *Governing*, though the latter may have a difference in the measure of their power, in the administration of the same Government: An evident instance of this we have in *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who notwithstanding he distribute the Clergy sometimes into Presbyters and Deacons, as the Governing or Teaching, and the Ministring Parts; yet he does elsewhere acknowledg three Orders where he comes to speak more distinctly. To the same effect are the words of the Greek Scholia, col-

ἐκ γὰρ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων ἐγέγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων, οὕτως γὰρ πῦ λέγει ἡ γραφὴ, καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει. Esay 60. 17.

κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν μὲν βελτιωτικὴν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι σώζουσιν εἰκόνα, τὴν ὑπερητικὴν οἱ διάκονοι. *Clem. Alex.* αἱ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαὶ ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων. *Clem. Alex. strom. l. 6. p. 283. Ed. Silburgii, in 1 Tim. 1.*

collected out of the ancient Fathers, that Bishops sometime in Scripture comprehend Presbyters too, "Because "their offices are much a-"like, they both admi-"nister the Sacraments, "they both teach and "guide the Church, and "exercise discipline, and "the difference between "them is not very great, "and what is that, since "they are both qualified "for the same Acts? Besides Ordination there is hardly any thing, but that they act in subordination to the Bishops, in whom the principal Authority of Teaching and governing is placed, and the Presbyters are the Assistants, and supreme Council of the Bishop, and both making as it were one Bench; the directive governing part of the Church. *Salmasius* would understand *Chrysostom*, when he sayes the *distance between Bishops and Presbyters was not great*, to speak of his own time only; which is so impudent a construction that one would wonder how any man could be guilty of it, since every one that has the curiosity to consult the place, will discern the imposture, and there is none of the Ancients that does more expresly distinguish between Bishops and Presbyters from the be-

τί δήποτε τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους παρέλιπεν ὅτι ἀνέμιξεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς; ἐπισκόποις; ἃ γὰρ περὶ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἁρμόζει, ὁμοίως γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἱερεῖς εἰσι καὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶ πεπιστευμένοι. *Sch. Gr.*

τί δέ ποτε; ὅτι οὐπολὺ τὸ μέσον. *Chrysost. in 1 ad Tim. c. 3.*

Secundum Presbyterorum, immo pæne unum eorum esse gradum & Episcoporum.

beginning than this eloquent Father, and nothing can be more plain than that he ſpeaks there of the conſtitution of Epiſcopacy and Presbytery without any regard to time; for it is evident from him that he thought there was no difference in this particular between theſe orders of the Church in his time and that of the Apoſtles, as any man may ſee that will but look into his comments upon *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* c. 1, and c. 3. *Tom. 4. Ed. Savil.*

There are ſeveral other paſſages in that Epiſtle of *Clemens* that make mention of Presbyters appointed by the Apoſtles to guide the Church, of the Presbyters of the Church of *Corinth* who were turned out by a faction; but nothing that affords any argument againſt Epiſcopacy but ſuch as the ſame anſwer may be extended to, which I have given already to the allegations made from thence. But to clear this buſineſs of the Church of *Corinth* as far as poſſible, I will ſhew the ſtate of it as it may be gathered from this Epiſtle, and then take liberty to offer a conjecture concerning the form of its Government at that time and the occaſion of the Schiſm.

The Church of *Corinth* in the firſt place is ſaid here to be an *Ancient, and ſound Church, that for a long while had enjoyed all the benefits of peace, and order, and was had in great eſteem and veneration of all thoſe that knew it, until at laſt having eat, and drank, and being enlarged and growing fat, it lifted up* ἀρχαίαν, καὶ βεβαιοπάτην.

up the heel.

ἐκ τούτων ἔρεις, &c. ἐπηγέρθησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐντίμους, οἱ ἄδοξοι ὅτι ἐνδόξους, οἱ ἄφρονες ὅτι τοὺς φρονίμους.

From this prosperity sprung all the evils of emulation and discord, the meaner sort setting themselves up against the better, and silly men growing conceited and pragmatical set themselves against men of wisdom and experience: But because in all the insolencies of the people against their Rulers there are commonly some persons of note that first

ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς στάσεως.

animate the sedition, it was no otherwise here; a few ambitious discontented men and they too not very extraordinary Persons for knowledg or endowments; instigated the common people against their Governours, & having popular parts, they knew how to insinuate themselves into the multitude, and to manage the credulity and passions of the people to their own advantage, and prejudice of the publick. Therefore *Clemens* aggravates this sedition by comparing it with that mentioned by St. *Paul*, when they cryed some for him, some for *Cephas*, some for *Apollos*, for they were two of them great Apostles, and the other one highly esteemed by the Church, *But now* (saies he) *consider by what manner of men you are perverted*: And now

Στάσεως, ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα περιπτὴ καὶ αὐθάδη ἐξέκαυσαν.

Διὰ ἓν ἢ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

ἀλλ' ἡ πρόσκλησις ἐκείνη ἦπου ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν· προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις, νῦνι δὲ καταγνόντες τίνες ὑμᾶς διέστρεψαν.

now what could give occasion to all this disorder? What would these troublesome men have? this is not expresly set down, but such hints are scattered as are sufficient to ground a probable conjecture. 1. They are said to be *great Zealots about things not material or requisite to salvation: and hot disputants about such matters.* 2. They were such as magnified the power of the people, and perswaded them that they had a right to turn out their Pastors, therefore *Clemens* shews what course *Moses* took to establish the Priesthood, and how the Apostles foreseeing there would be contentions about the name and office of a Bishop, appointed chosen men which the people cannot with any justice turn out. 3. These men were ambitious, disobedient, despisers of their superiors, and yet such as would bear rule themselves, and lift themselves up above their brethren; and their discontents arising from the ill success or opposition their ambitious pretensions met with, were probably the occasion of this Schism: and therefore *Clemens* advises them to be content with their statition, and chuse rather to be inconsiderable in

Φιλόνεικοι ἔστε ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ζελωταὶ περὶ μὴ ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν.

Ἀπόστολοι ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται, περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς.

Ταπεινοφρονούντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ.

Ἄμεινον γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ μικροὺς καὶ ἐλλογίμους εὑρηθῆναι, ἢ ὑπερέχειν δοκούντας ἐκριφῆναι.

in the Church, than to be never so great out of it, than to be the heads and Bishops of a Faction.

From which Circumstances one may conjecture, 1. That the Church of *Corinth* at this time had no Bishop, the See being vacant by the death of the last or otherwise. 2. That this sedition was περὶ τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς, a contention about this Bishoprick. 3. That the Clergy and people were divided about it, the people setting up some they had a favour for, whom the Clergy did not approve: and when they could not be prevail'd with, the people persisting in their kindness towards these persons, broke out into extremities, and turned out part of the Clergy that would not comply with their choice: Which is yet further confirmed from the directions which *Clemens* gives upon this account; that these men would go regularly to compass their design by just means, that they *would enter in at the right gate, and happy are those that enter that way, behaving themselves peaceably. For let a man be faithful, let him be never so powerful a Preacher, let him be never so wise and discerning, holy in his life, yet by how much he seems to excel others, by so much ought he to behave himself more humbly, and seek the common good of all, and not his own particular.*

Πόλλῶν οὖν πυλῶν ἀνεῳγοιῶν ἡ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ αὐτὴ ἔστιν ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν ᾗ μακάριοι πάντες οἱ εἰσιόντες —— εἰρηνικῶς πάντα ἐπιτελοῦντες.

Be-

Beſides this the paſſionate expoſtulation of *Clemens* with the Ringleaders of this ſedition makes this conjecture yet more probable; *Who is there among you generous, and charitable? Let him ſay, if this Schiſm and Sedition has been raiſed upon my account, I will withdraw, I will be gone wither ſoever ye pleaſe, only let the Fold of Chriſt live in unity and peace with the Presbyters that are over it*: and to incourage them to this generous reſignation, he tells them of *many Kings that have offered themſelves a Sacrifice for the ſafety of their Countrys? How many to put an end to ſedition have left their own Cities?* with more to that effect, which *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* borrows out of this Epiſtle, and ſends it as an exhortation to *Novatus* to put an end to that Schiſm he had cauſed: and what is there ſo proper againſt a Schiſmatick Biſhop, we may judge not without reaſon to have been applyed by the firſt Author upon the ſame occaſion. And thus much of the ſtate of the Church of *Corinth* at the writing of this Epiſtle. *Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 45.*

The laſt thing I ſhall obſerve out of *Clemens* is a paſſage that ſeems to favour the diſtribution of the Clergy into three Orders, Biſhop, Prieſts, and Deacons: The High-Prieſt

Τῷ γὰρ Ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προσέτακται, καὶ λευίταις ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται, ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἀδελφοὶ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐχαριστείτω τῷ θεῷ, μὴ παραβαίνων τὸν ὡρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτῷ κανόνα ἐν σεμνότητι.

Prieſt

Prieſt (ſayes he) hath his proper office, the Prieſts have a proper place appointed for them, and the Levites have their peculiar Miniſtry, and the Lay-man is obliged to keep himſelf within the bounds of his own ſtation. Brethren let every one of you glorifie God in his own place, and keep himſelf within his own line, not breaking over the bounds of his own Office and Miniſtry.

Having now given an account of the Original of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy out of Scripture and Antiquity, and examined the ſingular opinion of St. *Jerom* concerning it, I come now to give a ſhort view of the progreſs and advancement of it.

The firſt Biſhops after the Apoſtles according to the opinion of *Rabanus Maurus*, had very large Dioceſes, *Primis temporibus Epiſcopi Provincias integras regebant, Apoſtolorum nomine nuncupati*: *i. e.* In thoſe firſt times Biſhops governed whole Provinces being called then Apoſtles: and this conformable to *Theodoret* who affirms not only the ſame thing of the firſt Biſhops being called Apoſtles, but alſo that they had large Dioceſes too; for ſpeaking of *Titus*, he calls him *Biſhop of* Crete, *though it were a very great Iſland*; and in another place he ſayes, *that* Epaphroditus *was the Apoſtle of the* Philippians,

In 1 Tim. 4.

In Argumento Ep. ad Tit. Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπον καίπερ μεγίσης ὔσης, ὅτω Φιλιππησίων Ἀπόστολος ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ὅτω Τίτος Κρήτων καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ὁ Τιμόθεος Ἀπόστολοι. *Theod. in* 1 Tim. 3.

Titus

Titus *of the* Cretians, *and* Timothy *of the* Aſians. *i. e.* In his language *their Biſhops*, and the *Canons* of the Apoſtles ſignifie as much, where they order *every Biſhop to meddle only with his own Dioceſs and the Regions that belong to it.* *Can. Ap.* 33.

ἐκεῖνα μόνα πράττειν ἔχειν ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ὑπόβαλλει καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις.

But as Chriſtians were multiplyed in the World, ſo the number of Biſhops increaſed, every conſiderable City with the Country about becoming Dioceſes; ſo *Aſia* towards the latter end of St. *John* had ſeven Biſhops, and by proportion we may conjecture of other Countries: and the firſt advances of Chriſtianity being very wonderful, and the ſucceſs of our Religion giving occaſion to envy and perſecution, the condition of thoſe times ſeems to have proportioned the diſtribution of the Church, and to multiply Dioceſes. For in thoſe troubleſome times, it being very difficult to maintain ſuch a communication as ought to be, between a Biſhop and all the parts of his Dioceſe, it was found neceſſary to multiply Churches, and that every City with

Σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις τί τοῦτο μίας πόλεως πολλοὶ ὄντες ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν; εὐδαμοῦ. *Phil.* 1. *Chryſoſt. in loc.*

Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ἐν μιᾷ πόλει πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐπίσκοποι. *Oecum. Theoph. non enim una in urbe plures Epiſcopi eſſe potuiſſent. Hieron.*

It could not be: *It was againſt the deſign of the inſtitution.*

Loci ipſius Epiſcopo ſcribendum eſſet, non duobus aut tribus. Ambr. in Loc.

ſome Portion of Countrey belonging to it ſhould have its own Biſhop: who though his flock might at firſt be but ſmall, and not exceed a Congregation; yet was he properly the Biſhop of the place, *i. e.* τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν, of thoſe that afterwards ſhould believe. Whatever acceſſions were made to this Church, though the whole City and Country ſhould be converted, *Epiſcopo cedunt*; they accrue to the Biſhop of the place into how many Congregations ſoever they might after be diſtributed; and therefore the Church of a Biſhop retained ſtill the ſingular number, though diſtributed into ſeveral Congregations: and in ſuch a Church they contended there ought to be but one Biſhop, though it had never ſo many Presbyters, as that of *Rome* had, when *Cornelius* pretended there ought to be but one Biſhop, and *Novatus* did not contradict him; but the diſpute was about this, which of them were the rightful Biſhop.

ἵνα δεῖν εἶναι δύο σκοπον ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. *Cornel. ap. Euſeb. l. 6. c. 43.*

Epiſcopacy being ſetled upon theſe foundations with a regard to the future increaſe, as well as the firſt condition and ſmall beginnings of the Church, we do not find that for the firſt three Centuries the number of Biſhops was near ſo great as it became afterwards; although in a little while the multitude of believers was ſo great, that there was no Country, no City, no village in ſeveral Provinces of the Roman Empire, where there was not a good number of Chriſtians.

Christians. Before the persecution of *Trajan* they were so increased that in the Province of *Bithynia*, as *Pliny* complains, the Heathen Temples were become desolate, the Sacrifices neglected and laid aside; and notwithstanding the severity of that persecution made great numbers fall off, yet those that remained unshaken and resolved to dye Martyrs for their Religion, were exceeding numerous. Not long after *Arrius Antoninus* found so many of them in *Asia* that it was an endless thing to put them to death, though they made no resistance; and when they thronged so much about his Tribunal, offering themselves to death, he sends them back again, desiring them if they had such a passion to dye, that they would hang themselves, because he had not Executioners enough: And at *Carthage* the number of Christians was so great that they could not have been destroyed without making the City desolate, as *Tertullian* tells *Scapula* the Governour of the Province: *If thou shouldest go about to destroy the Christians here, what wouldst thou do with so many thousands of people? when men and women of all degrees, of all ages, should offer themselves to*

Prope jam desolata Templa coepisse celebrari, & Sacra Solemnia diu intermissa repeti; passimq; venire victimas quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur, ex quo facile est opinari quæ turba hominum emendari possit: Yet after the Apostasy of so many, the numbers are still great: *Visa est mihi res consultatione digna, maxime propter periclitantium numerum, multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus, —— neq; enim Civitates tantum, sed & vicos & agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est.* *Plin. Ep. l. 10 Ep. 100.*

Tertull. l. ad Scap. c. 5. Hoc si placuerit & hic furi, quid facies de tantis millibus hominum, tot viris ac fœminis omnis Sexus, omnis ætatis, omnis dignitatis, offerentibus se tibi, quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus erit? parce tibi si non nobis, parce Carthagini si non tibi.

the Executioners, how many Swords, what fires would be necessary for the Execution of so great a multitude? Spare the City by sparing us. Nor are we to imagin Carthage to abound more with Christians than the rest of the Empire, for the same Author tells us, that the whole world was overspread with Believers, *and that the Heathen cryed that they had over run the City and the Country, and every place was full of Christians: that persons of all conditions, sexes, and age went over to this name.* Nay so great were their numbers, that it was not want of strength but want of will that hindred them from becoming masters of the Empire: "Loyalty was part of their Re-
"ligion, and that was the reason why they
"did not force the Government to a To-
"leration of; or a submission to it: The bar-
"barous Nations that over-
"ran the Empire were not
"near so numerous: The
"Christians had filled all
"Places, their Cities,
"their Towns, their
"Councils, their Tribes,
"the Court, the Senate, and what not: and

Obsessam vociferantur Civitatem, in agris, in castellis, in insulis, Christianos: omnem sexum, ætatem, dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen, quasi detrimento mœrent. Apol. c. 1.

Plures nimirum Mauri, & Marcomanni, ipsiq; Parthi omnia vestra implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, concilabula, castra ipsa, Tribus, Decurias, Palatium, Senatum, forum.

though

though they had been yet inferiour in number and force, yet their contempt of death would render them a very formidable Enemy: *Nay without Rebellion we might easily ruine our Persecutors, should we but withdraw, and retire to any corner of the World, the loss of so many subjects of any kind would unavoidably ruin the Government; How you would be astonished at the strange solitude our departure should cause, at the silence, and stilness of your City, as if it had expired by our departure? you would be to seek for Subjects to govern, and more enemies than Citizens would remain with you; but now your enemies are more inconsiderable by reason of the great multitude of Christians, who are your Citizens, and almost all your Citizens are Christians.*

Potuimus inermes, nec Rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse; si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti finem abrupissemus à vobis, suffudisset vestram dominationem tot qualiumcunque Civium amissio, imo etiam ipsa destitutione punisset, proculdubio expavissetis, ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum & stuporem quandam quasi mortuæ urbis, quæsissetis quibus in ea imperassetis, plures hostes quam cives remansissent, nunc autem pauciores hostes habetis præ multitudine Christianorum, pene Omnium Civium, *pene* Omnes Cives Christianos *habendo.* *Apol. c. 37.*

And because the Heathens complained that Christian Religion was an enemy to trade, and that it would destroy the commerce of the East, which depended upon the consumption of Frankincense and Spices in the Temples, the Apologist answers: *that the Arabians sell more for the Christian funerals than they do to the Heathen Temples: and the Christian Charity spent more in a street, than the*

Sciant Sabei pluris & charioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam diis fumigandis —— Interim plus misericordia nostra insumit vicatim, quam vestra Religio Templatim. c. 42.

Now the largeness of the Dioceses of those times will appear by comparing the vast multitude of Christians and the small number of Bishops; and first no City how great soever had more than one Bishop: this is so well known that it would be great impertinence to go about to prove it by instances, and I have shewed already how the Fathers were of opinion that there ought to be no more. Besides, the Bishops of most Cities if not all, had a considerable Territory belonging to their jurisdiction, which was commonly the Country lying round about their City: So *Alexandria* besides the *Ager Alexandrinus*, which was of very large extent, had likewise all the Region called *Mareotes*, containing above an hundred and fifty Villages, as *Athanasius* rightly understood, computes them. For every Presbyter had ten or more Villages under him, and probably some Assistants or Curates to take care of some of them: This Region alwayes belonged to the Dioceses of *Alexandria*, and never had as much as a *Chorepiscopus*. But I have before given a particular account of *Rome* and

Athan. Apol. 2. ἕκαστος γ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας, μέχρις καὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ πλείονας. *Singuli autem Presbyteri proprios habent pagos, tosq; maximos, denos interdum aut plures: ex his apparet singulos Mareotidis pagos non habuisse suum Presbyterum, sed unicum Presbyterum denos pagos rexisse, atq; interdum plures. Valesius.*

and *Alexandria*, and therefore I ſhall ſay no more here, than that there being but one Biſhop in each of thoſe Cities, his Dioceſs muſt be very large, and contain ſeveral diſtinct Congregations.

The *African* Dioceſes, which Mr. *B.* fanſies to be no bigger than our Pariſhes, were at firſt very large, till the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts* had divided that Church into ſmall pieces: the manner and the reaſon of this change I ſhall ſhew in due place, and even then it will appear that there were ſome very large Biſhopricks in *Africk*.

Carthage in *Tertullians* time had an infinite multitude of Chriſtians, as we have ſhewed already; and *Cyprian* who was made Biſhop there not long after, gives us hints enough of the greatneſs of his Dioceſs. The number of the Clergy there even in time of perſecution, when he confeſſes ſeveral of them to have fallen away; yet even then there were ſo many Presbyters left in the City that he adviſes them to go to the Confeſſours in Priſon by turns to Adminiſter the Communion to them, that the changing of the Perſons, and the ſeeing of new faces daily may render it leſs envied or obſerved. Beſides when four of his Presbyters, and thoſe probably living at ſome diſtance from *Carthage*, had writ to him about ſomething

Tempeſtas maxima ex parte plebem noſtram proſtravit — ita ut cleri portionem ſua ſtrage perſtringeret. Ep. 6. Multi adhuc de Clero abſentes. 28. Presbyteri qui illic apud confeſſores offerunt, ſinguli cum ſingulis Diaconis per vices alternent, quia mutatio perſonarum, & viciſſitudo convenientium minuit invidiam. Ep. 5.

relating to the Church, he tells his Clergy that he was resolved from the time he was made Bishop, to determine nothing without advising with his Clergy; which intimates, that they were not of the Clergy residing at *Carthage*: for it is not likely that four persons would pretend to write to their Bishop about any publick concern of the Church without consulting their Brethren, if they lived together with them, and met daily at the same Altar; and *Cyprian*'s speaking of them with this strangeness, makes it improbable that they were among this Clergy, to whom he wrote concerning them. Besides we have express mention of one Country Presbyter and Deacon belonging to the Dioceſs of *Carthage*, *Gaius*, *Diddensis Presbyter*, who from several passages of that Epistle appears to have been near the City and under its jurisdiction; and it is not improbable that this is one of those Presbyters *Cyprian* complains of in another place for their presumption in receiving the lapsed into com-

munion

Ad id vero quod scripserunt mihi Compresbyteri nostri, Donatus, & Fortunatus, & Gordius & Novatus; solus rescribere nihil potui, quando à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu plebis meæ privata sententia gerere, sed cum ad vos —— venero —— in commune tractabimus. Ep. 6.

Decipientes quosdam fratres ex plebe nostra. Ep. 28.

Quorundam immoderata præsumptio plebis universæ tranquillitatem turbare conetur —— aliqui de Presbyteris, nec sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub Antecessoribus nostris factum est, cum contumelia & contemptu Præpositi totum sibi vendicent. Interim prohibeantur offerre acturi apud nos, & apud confessores ipsos, & apud universam plebem, causam suam. Ep. 10.

munion without consulting their Bishop, or the Clergy; and the nature of their fault makes it evident that there were several Congregations now in *Carthage*, for this could never have been done by a few in the Episcopal Church in the presence of all the Presbytery, it is not probable they would have indured it; or if they had, then they had been all in equal fault, which *Cyprian* does by no means lay to their charge, but layes it upon a few, and orders they should be suspended from their office by the rest of the Presbyters, and their cause reserved to be tryed before him and the whole Church at his return: Beside this the Charity of the Dioceſs of *Carthage* towards the redemption of the *Numidian* Captives, was so considerable, that it cannot be supposed to be gathered in one or a few Congregations, especially when we consider, that *Cyprian* when he sends it to the Bishops of *Numidia* with a Letter, and particulars, does not take notice of it as any extraordinary matter; and all the observation he makes of

Misimus autem Sestertia centum millia nummum, quæ istic in Eccleſia cui de Domini indulgentia præſumus, cleri & plebis apud nos conſistentis collatione collecta sunt: —— And if the like should happen again, he makes no doubt but his Dioceſs will relieve them: *libenter & largiter Subsidia præstare ad hoc opus tam necessarium Fratres & Sorores prompte & libenter operati sunt. Ep.* 60.

LL. S. centum millia: LL. centum, as *Pamelius* corrects it, though without the Authority of any *MS S. Potest inter cæteros, qui alimentis Eccleſiæ sustinentur, hujus (Histrionis) necessitas adjuvari* —— *Si illic Eccleſia non sufficit ut laborantibus præstet alimenta, poterit se ad nos transferre, & hic quod sibi ad victum & vestitum necessarium fuerit, accipere.*

the

the Contributions of his flock is, that they were done *prompte & libenter*, readily and willingly, and he promiſes that they will be as ready upon any ſuch occaſion. 2. The Ordinary charge of that Church was ſo great for the ſupport of the Biſhop, Presbyters, and a very numerous Clergy, beſides poor, who were plentifully relieved, and eſpecially in dangerous times, beſides the maintenance of ſuch, as when they became Chriſtians were obliged to quit their former callings as inconſiſtent with that holy profeſſion, and the extraordinary charge of Meſſengers that paſſed perpetually between them and other Churches; This ordinary charge was ſo great, that the ſumm collected in this Dioceſs for the redemption of thoſe Captives, at the loweſt computation, muſt ſuppoſe a conſiderable Dioceſs to furniſh it, eſpecially ſo ſoon after a terrible perſecution, as that which this is ſuppoſed to follow. Laſtly, the Dioceſs of *Carthage* is not extraordinary in all theſe circumſtances, but the reſt of *Africk* were ſome of them diſtributed into ſeveral Pariſhes: For *Caldonius* an *African* Biſhop makes mention of one *Felix*, who did the office of a Presbyter, under one *Decimus*,

Felix qui Presbyterium ſubminiſtrabat

ſub Decimo, proximus mihi vicinus ——— plenius cognovi eundem. ——— Cum ergo univerſi pacem preterent ——— quamvis mihi videantur debere pacem accipere, tamen ad conſultum veſtrum eos dimiſi, ut videar aliquid temere præſumere. Caldon. Ep. ad Cypr. 19.

another

another Presbyter of *Caldonius*'s Dioceſs, as will appear from ſome paſſages of that Epiſtle, though *Goulartius* be of opinion this *Decimus* was a Biſhop, and *Felix* his Presbyter: But *Pamelius* his conjecture is much better grounded, who makes him the Vicar or Curate of *Decimus*. For 1. If he and his wife *Victoria* had belonged to another Biſhop, why do they make their Application to *Caldonius* to reconcile them to the Church? Why do not they go to their own Biſhop *Decimus*; or if he were dead and no other yet ordained in his place, Why not to the Presbytery there who ought to have reconciled them? and in a vacance took care of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, as the Clergy of *Rome* declare, that at ſuch a time they are to take care of the Church, *Cum nobis incumbat, qui præpoſiti eſſe videmur, & vice Paſtoris cuſtodire gregem.* But their making their application to *Caldonius* makes it clear that he was their Dioceſan, that the Cure in which *Felix* officiated was in his Dioceſs. 2. *Caldonius* his remitting them to *Cyprian* as the firſt Biſhop, makes it probable that he was their Ordinary; for what elſe had he to do to meddle with, or remit the cognizance of any perſons belonging to another Church, to any other than their own Clergy, and let them remit them to the Primate if they judged the caſe difficult? Therefore it is much more probable that *Caldonius* was the Biſhop of the Suppliants, and that the Prieſt

Ap. Cypr. ep. 3.

Prieſt mentioned, exerciſed his charge in ſome Village or Town in his Dioceſs.

But ſince there is no Record left as Ancient as the times we ſpeak of that gives the juſt extent of any Dioceſs, and what we mentioned already are only accidental hints; we muſt take ſome other way to make more juſt obſervations of the magnitude of thoſe Stars, and of the Orbs in which they moved.

And ſince moſt of the Remains of Ancient writings do either concern Religion in general, and are taken up in the defence of it againſt Idolatry, and Blaſphemous Hereſies; or elſe in giving ſome account of the general adminiſtration of the Church, by Biſhops met in Councils: we muſt try whether we may not ground a probable computation of the Biſhopricks of thoſe times in ſome Provinces, upon the number of Biſhops that uſually met there, to determine ſuch things as concerned the general Union and the peace not only of the Churches within ſuch a diſtrict, but alſo the Church Univerſal.

Now the Church of *Africk* at this diſtance of time ſtands in the beſt light of any, which is owing to the excellent writings of *Cyprian*, who gives ſeveral particulars concerning the ſtate of the Churches of that part of the world in and before his time. The firſt Council mentioned there, was under *Agrippinus* Biſhop of *Carthage*, about rebap-

rebaptizing of Hereticks; but the number is not mentioned, which if it had been any thing extraordinary, *Cyprian* would not have forborn to alledge, to add weight and Authority to the precedent he cites in favour of his own opinion.

Cypr. Ep. 71. Agrippinus bonæ memoriæ vir cum cæteris Coepiſcopis ſuis qui illo tempore in Provincia Africa & Numidia Eccleſiam Dei gubernabant.

The next we find is at *Lambeſe* againſt one *Privatus* of that place, where there were preſent ninety Biſhops, the moſt numerous Council we read of in *Africk* before the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*: nor is it to be wondred there ſhould be ſo many Biſhops met together in a Provincial Synod, ſince the Province of *Cyprian* contained *Africa* properly ſo called, *Numidia* and the two *Mauritania*'s; and we find ſeveral Councils compoſed of the Biſhops of all theſe Provinces leſs numerous than this againſt *Privatus*: However this paſſage of *Cyprian* of *Provincia noſtra*, whether it be underſtood here of the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Province, yet it was uſual for the Biſhops of thoſe Provinces in *Cyprians* time to meet at *Carthage* to conſult as the occaſions of the Church did require.

Ep. 55. compared with 30.

Latius fuſa eſt noſtra Provincia. habet enim Numidiam & Mauritanias duas ſibi cohærentes. Ep. 45.

Nunc cum in unum convenisſemus tam Provinciæ Africæ, quam Numidiæ Epiſcopi, numero 71. Ep. 73.

Cum in unum Carthagini conveniſſent Kal. Sept. Epiſcopi plurimi ex Provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania. Sententiæ Epiſc. ap. Cypr. T. 2. ed Goulart.

quire. And it is further obſervable that there is a great difference in the number of the Councils of *Africa* properly ſo called, and the other more general ones of the ſeveral Provinces united: all the Biſhops of that Country or the greateſt part coming together upon extraordinary occaſions, as we ſhall ſhew preſently from the ſimplicity of their conſtitution, which continued longer in that Church than in any other of the Chriſtian World; and the ſtrict obligations every particular Biſhop had of coming to the Synods, which here were more indiſpenſable, becauſe there were no Metropolitans to repreſent the Suffragans of their Province, but of this hereafter.

Cum quies & tranquillitas data eſſet, & Epiſcopis in unum convenire indulgentia divina permitteret, tunc communicato & librato de omnium collatione, conſilio, ſtatueremq; quid fieri oporteret: Si quis vero ante Concilium noſtrum, & ante ſententiam de omnium Conſilio ſtatutam lapſis temere communicaret, ipſe à communione arceatur.

After the perſecution that forced *Cyprian* from *Carthage*, was ceaſed, a Council was aſſembled to ſettle the Diſcipline of the Church relating to the laps'd, or ſuch as had fallen away in time of Temptation: and ſince *Cyprian* in his receſs would never determine any thing concerning it, before the ſtorm were over, and all the Biſhops

Perſecutione ſopita, copioſus Epiſcoporum numerus, quos integros & incolumes, fides ſua & Domini tutela protexit.

Ac ſi minus ſufficiens in Africa Epiſcoporum numerus, etiam Romam, &c. Ep. 52. & Epigraph. Ep. 54.

Cyprianus libenter, &c. Numero 42.

per.

permitted to come together to eſtabliſh a general rule concerning it, it is to be imagined that all that could poſſibly come together would meet upon this occaſion, where they were all concerned: and ſo no doubt they did, and *Cyprian* intimates as much, where he ſays that all that had ſtood and perſevered under that perſecution came together, and their number did hardly exceed forty; it is likely that only the Biſhops of the Province of *Africk* appeared here, the buſineſs requiring ſome ſpeedy remedy, and all of that Province that had not lapſed doubtleſs came together; and *Cyprian* with regard to the number of Biſhops in the Province, calls *this a great number of Biſhops.*

Another Synod is ſaid to be called ſhortly after by the Author of the *Libellus Synodicus* in the cauſe of *Novatian* which appears to be after that which we have mentioned laſt, as well from the number which was eighty four, and ſuppoſed the Church in a peaceable condition, as from *Cyprians* Letter to

Σύνοδος ὑπὸ Κυπριανοῦ καὶ ἑτέρων ὀγδήκοντα πεσάρων ἐπισκόπων, ἀποχηρύξασα τὸν Ναυάλιον. *Lib. Synod.*

Sed cum ſtatuiſſemus Collegæ complures qui in unum conventuramus (perhaps in *Hadrumettina Colonia*) *& legatis ad vos coepiſcopis noſtris, omnia interim int egraſuſpenderentur, ut te univerſi noſtri Collegæ & communicationem tuam, i. e. Catholicæ Eccleſiæ unitatem* ——— *probarent, firmiter ac tenerent:* and theſe *univerſi Collegæ* it ſeems were the 84. above mentioned: who came from *Africk*, *Numidia*, and the two *Mauritania's*, for the Union and conſent of all theſe was deſigned by *Cyprian*, in order to which ſome Biſhops were ſent to *Rome* to inform them of the whole matter. *Cypr. Ep.* 45.

Cornelius

Cornelius about the Clergy in *Hadrumettina Colonia*, which though it be placed in the order of *Pamelius* before the Synod of *Carthage* about the lapsed; yet from several circumstances I conceive was written some time after: For 1. From the Epistle of the Synod last mentioned it appears that it was the first after the Persecution: 2. It makes no mention at all of *Novatian*: 3. The Letter of *Cyprian* about *Polycarp* and his Clergy gives the reason why they deferred to determine the difference between *Cornelius* and *Novatian*: because they staid for an account of the whole matter from those Bishops they had sent to *Rome*, that the cause of *Cornelius* might want no advantage of evidence to justifie and clear it, though he, *Cyprian*, was well enough satisfied of the justice of it, and had communicated with *Cornelius* before; All this he sayes in the same place was done in order to establish a general consent about communicating with *Cornelius*, which was to be done in a full Council of all the Provinces, the same that we have set down here from the *Libellus Synodicus*.

Ap. Cypr. Ep. 59. Aug. contr. duas Ep. Pel. l. 4. c. 8.

Another *African* Council whose Epistle to *Fidus* about the Baptism of Infants is still extant, had sixty six Bishops, as St. *Augustine* reports, and names the number as extraordinary, to add greater Authority to their Testimony. That concerning *Basilides* and *Martialis* had but a very small number; and the first about the validity of

of Baptiſm by a Heretick, had no great number, as we may conclude from the Inſcription of it, which ſhews that the Biſhops of *Numidia* were not there, and that it conſiſted only of the Province of *Africa* properly ſo called. And *Cyprian* though he mentions this Council in ſeveral places, yet he ſayes nothing of the number; nay though he mentions it in the very ſame period with that which followed upon the ſame account, yet he does not ſay any thing of the multitude of Biſhops there, but expreſſes that of the other, becauſe he thought it remarkable, conſidering the number of Biſhops at that time, *when we had met together the Biſhops of* Africa *and* Numidia *ſeventy one in number*: And this Council as if it had not been full enough is confirmed by another of greater extent and number, conſiſting of eighty ſeven Biſhops aſſembled out of the Provinces of *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Mauritania*; and of theſe eighty ſeven, two left their ſuffrages with Proxies: and this is the moſt numerous of all the Councils in *Cyprians* time, and the laſt of that Country we have any account of in that age.

Cyp. Ep. 68. 70. Ep. ad Januarium & cætros Epiſcopos Numidas.

Quid in Concilio cum complures adeſſemus, decreverimus — Et nunc quoque cum in unum convenisſemus tam Provinciæ Africæ quam Numidiæ Epiſcopi ſeptuaginta unus. Ep. 73.

Cum in unum convenisſent Epiſcopi plurimi, ex Provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, Sententiæ 87. Epiſt. ap. Cypr. T. 2. c. 15.

This was the ſtate of the Church of *Africk*, and the number of their Biſhops, which if we compare with the vaſt increaſe of Chri-

ſtians there deſcribed by *Tertullian*, and the Acceſſion, we may probably conceive to have been made after by the care and miniſtry of thoſe good Biſhops that governed that Church: we muſt conclude the *African* Dioceſes to be very large, and to contain each of them not only a very great number of Believers, but thoſe alſo diſperſed throughout a great extent of Country.

But it may be objected that all the Biſhops of *Africk* might not meet in theſe Councils, and therefore there is no computation to be made of their number from this obſervation: To which I anſwer firſt, that it is poſſible every individual Biſhop might not be preſent, yet the greateſt part was, and none was to abſent himſelf without abſolute neceſſity, as of ſickneſs or the like: and the number of ſuch would be inconſiderable. And the Canons of that Church are very ſtrict in this point in after times, and give ſtrange incouragements to ſuch as have otherwiſe but ill titles to their Biſhopricks, to hold them to the prejudice of him who has the juſter title, if the one frequent their Councils, and the other neglect them: On the otherſide neglect of duty in this particular is made liable to deprivation. 2. In *Cyprians* time when the *African* Biſhops had no dependance one upon another, and no ſubordination

Codex Canon. Afric. c. 53. vid. Conc. Carth. 3. c. 43.

Carth. 4. c. 21. Epiſcopus ad Synodum ire non ſine ſatis gravi neceſſitate inhibeatur, ſic tamen ut in ſua perſona legatum mittat.

ordination to Metropolitans, and the Decrees of their Synods did, and could oblige only such as were present and consented to them; it was necessary that all should come together or send their Proxy, in order to establish that Unity among them which was the design of these Councils, and yet all the number even of their most solemn Councils is not great. 3. The practice of the *African* Church within half an age after this time confirms this inference from the number of the Bishops at Councils, to the number of Dioceses in that Country: for we find presently, as Bishopricks were multiplyed by the Schism of the *Donatists*, so Councils became much more numerous: and whereas ninety was the greatest number that ever met there before this Schism, afterwards we find several hundreds. But however this inference will hold, it is some comfort to find some others of great knowledge and judgement in antiquity to hold the conclusion: that the number of Bishopricks was not great in *Cyprians* time; which is assigned as a reason why his Province was so large. *Auctor numero sedium Episcopalium, adeo ut omnibus invigilare haud facile esset Carthaginensi Episcopo. Carol. à S. Paulo. Geogr. Sacr. p.* 84.

But to make this point clear beyond all exception, I will indeavour to shew from unquestionable testimonies, how Bishopricks came to be multiplyed in *Africk* more than in any other part: and then notwithstanding

ſtanding this, I will make it evident that thoſe Biſhops were Dioceſans, and ſome of them after the crumbling of that Church into ſmall pieces, had yet very large Dioceſes, not inferiour to moſt of ours for extent of Territory.

The Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, though it broke not forth with any violence till after *Cæcilianus* was made Biſhop of *Carthage*, yet it was hatching long before in the time of *Menſurius*, when the faction was kept up under hand, and had its Agents in ſeveral places: But being grown ripe, it took occaſion from the promotion of *Cæcilianus* to declare it ſelf. *Secundus Tiſnigenſis* being called to *Carthage* with his *Numidian* Biſhops to ſet up another, He came accordingly with about ſeventy Biſhops, all the ſtrength he could make, and perhaps more than his own Province could afford him: Theſe declare they would not communicate with *Cæcilianus*, and therefore ſet up *Majorinus* againſt him; and in like manner, where ever they could make the leaſt party imaginable, they appointed a Schiſmatical Biſhop; and not content to equal the number of the Catholicks, they divided the ancient Dioceſes, and erected ſeveral new Epiſcopal ſeats, that by the number of their Biſhops at leaſt they might appear to be Catholicks, as they afterwards laid claim to the title upon that account: It was not long after this breach, but we hear of unuſual numbers of Biſhops met in Council; and one of the

Aug. Ep. 163.

Aug. Ep. 48.

Donatiſts

Donatiſts of *Carthage* according to *Tychonius* his relation, had no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy Biſhops, which if it be true ſhews this change to have been very ſudden; though it cannot be ſo ſoon as *Balduinus*, and out of him *Baronius* would underſtand it to be: but of this I have ſaid enough before. vid. *Valeſii Diſſert. de Schiſm. Donat.*

Some time after when they quarrelled among themſelves, they called a Council of three hundred and ten, *Bagaienſe* againſt *Maximianus*. The Catholicks obſerving what advantage this reputation of having a great number of Biſhops gave their adverſaries, thought it neceſſary to make uſe of the ſame courſe themſelves, and to make as many Biſhops as they could; therefore they order, that where part of a large Dioceſs ſhould be willing to have a Biſhop of its own, if the Biſhop under whom they were ſhould conſent, a new Biſhoprick might be erected. But it was commonly at the coſt of the Schiſmaticks that they multiplyed Dioceſes; for where there were two Biſhops in a Dioceſs, the one a *Catholick* and the other a *Donatiſt*, and the *Donatiſts* would return to the unity of the Church, the Dioceſs was to be equally divided between them, and that with ſo much exactneſs, that if the number of the Towns happened to be odd, the odd Town was adjudged who it ſhould belong to: nor was this all, but where the *Donatiſts* had driven out or perverted all the *Catholicks*, *Conc. Carth. 2. c. 5.* *Codex integ. can. Eccleſ. Afr. c. 53. 98.* *Codex Can. 118.*

there they set up a Bishop as soon as ever they had any party, and sometimes in the same *Donatist* Diocess there were three or four Catholick Bishops. This is made out so clearly in the conference at *Carthage*, that I need only cite some passages out of it, and leave them to the Reader without farther inference or application.

Collatio Carthag. Cogn. Primæ gesta. 65.

Petilianus *Episcopus dixit sapientissimè ac præscie omnia prævidisti vir nobilis, nam in plebe meâ*, i.e. *in Civitate* Constantinensi *adversarium habeo* Fortunatum, *in medio autem Diœcesis meæ, nunc institutum habeo, imo ipsi habent*, Delphinum: *pervidet jam hinc præstantia tua duos in unius plebe fuisse imaginarie constitutos, ut & numerum augeant, & tamen plebium numerus non sit, qui sit illarum, scilicet, Personarum: & hoc Argumenti est maximi, ut videantur nos hoc genere superare, si duo contra unum constituti sunt vel tres: Nam etiam in plebe præsentis sanctissimi Collegæ, ac fratris mei* Adeodati, i. e. *in Civitate* Milevitana, *ita commissa res est, ut unum ibidem habeat Adversarium, alterum in* Tuncensi *Civitate, qui ad hujus scilicet plebem antiquitus pertinet, & ante biennium esse videtur constitutus: Tertius vero sit in loco qui dicitur* Ceramussa: *Ergo cum unus sit Civitatis* Milevitanæ *Episcopus à partibus nostris, tres videntur ab his constituti fuisse, ut illorum numerus augeretur, aut fortasse excederet numerum veritatis*: Requirendum est igitur quando auctus est illorum numerus, quam Originem habuerit, utrum hoc novitas fecerit, an

an dederit Antiquitas, utrum ut ita dixerim, contra vetultatem canam vitium hoc fuerit novitatis.

Petilianus (Donatiſt Biſhop of *Conſtantina* ſaid: Noble Sir, you have wiſely foreſeen all things: for in my Dioceſs, *i. e.* in the City of *Conſtantina*, I have *Fortunatus* an oppoſite Biſhop; and in the middle of my Dioceſs, I have, nay they have, *Delphinus* another Biſhop: Your excellence may perceive by this, how they have ſet up two imaginary Biſhops in the Dioceſs of one to increaſe their number, and yet the number of Dioceſes will not be ſo great as that of their Biſhops: and this is a great argument that they would ſeem to outdo us in this kind, if they do but ſet up two or three againſt one: for in the Dioceſs of my worthy collegue *Adeodatus* who is here preſent, *i. e.* in the City of *Milevis*, the matter is ſo ordered, that he has one Anti Biſhop there in the City, another in the City of *Tunca* which has belonged of old to his Dioceſs, and it is not above two years ſince he is ſet up there: a third is in a place called *Ceramuſſa*. Therefore whereas there is but one Biſhop of *Milevis* of our party, they have three, that they may increaſe their number, and perhaps exceed the number of the truth, or of the True Church: we ought therefore to ask them, when their number increaſed thus, what was the Original of it? Whether this be an innovation, or Reverend Antiquity, or rather whether this novelty has not

been irregularly introduced againſt reverend Antiquity.

And what Anſwer is there to all this? No other than that it was impertinent, it was nothing to the buſineſs of the conference, which was to diſpute the cauſe of the Church, whether it were to be found among the Catholicks, or only amongſt the Donatiſts.

Fortunatianus *Epiſcopus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ dixit, Multiloquio Eccleſiæ cauſam agi non debere perſpicit mecum tua dignationis ſenſus, Cognitorum optime.*

Fortunatianus Biſhop of the Catholick Church ſaid, Beſt of Judges, you perceive as well as I that the cauſe of the Church ought not to be maintained by much impertinent talk.

Therefore the Catholicks could not deny the matter of fact, but deſpiſed the argument, and perhaps looked upon it as a credit to their cauſe to be ſo watchful and induſtrious in it; and ſince Schiſm would needs divide the Church, they thought it allowable to return them the ſame meaſure and devide Schiſm too, by parcelling their Dioceſes between ſeveral Catholick Biſhops.

And that we may not think this inſtance ſingular, I will proceed to cite ſome more paſſages to the ſame effect.

Col. Carth. Cogn. 1. 127.

Petilianus *Epiſcopus dixit, in una Plebe Januarii Collegæ noſtri præſentis, in una dioceſi quatuor ſunt conſtituti contra ipſum, ne numerus ſcilicet angeretur.*

Petilianus

Petilianus ſaid, In the ſingle Dioceſs of my Brother *Januarius*, there are no leſs than four Biſhops ſet up againſt him, that their number may be increaſed.

To this and ſome other little reflections the Anſwer of *Marcellinus* the Preſident was, *Hæc ad præſentem non pertinent actionem*: Theſe things are not to the purpoſe.

And theſe checks were the cauſe why we have not many more particulars of the diviſions of Dioceſes in *Africk*; yet for all this, ſome could not forbear making their complaints when it came to their turn to ſpeak.

Veriſſimus Epiſcopus dixit, Agnoſco illum, quatuor ſunt in plebe mea, Datianus, Aſpidius, Fortunatus & Octavianus. *Coll. Carth. Cog. 1. 121.*

Veriſſimus ſaid I know him, (for before the Conference the ſubſcriptions were to be examined, and the Donatiſt Biſhops were to confront the Catholicks, *i. e.* the Biſhop of each City his oppoſite Biſhop there) there are four Biſhops in my Dioceſs, and names them.

Now that we may not think this way was taken up by the Catholicks only to increaſe their party, they when it comes to their turn charge the Donatiſts with the very ſame Arts. For, *In ipſa autem Eccleſia Muſtitana apparuit & ipſos Epiſcopum alium antiquæ Cathedræ addidiſſe, & hoc in aliis locis ſe feciſſe poſſe declaratum.* 25. *Brev. Col.*

Summius

Sumnius Episcopus Tigualleńsis idem dixit, præsto sum: in Diœcesi meâ duo sunt Gaianus & Privatus.

Alypius *Episcopus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ dixit, animadvertat nobilitas tua etiam in nostrorum Diœcesi eos ordinasse Episcopos.*

Sumnius Bishop of *Tigualla* said: I am here: there are two set up against me in my Dioceſs, and names them.

Alypius Bishop of the Catholick Church said, Your Honour may please to observe, that they have set up several Bishops in single Dioceses of ours.

ibid. *Marcellinus V. C. Tribunus & Notarius dixit: Talia ab utrisque partibus constat objecta; si hæc vultis diligenter inquiri, ad hanc causam superflue venisse noscemur.*

Marcellinus, *Tribune* and *Notary*, (the moderator of this Conference) said: It is evident that these things are objected on both sides; if this be the business you would examine, I am come hither to little purpose, for this is not the thing I came about.

This check had so much effect that we do not find any make this impertinent complaint for a long while together, but the opposite Bishops own the knowledg one of another, and so the subscriptions are read and passed with little interruption. At last *Alypius* not being able to hold out longer, would make his general remark upon a great number of Donatist Bishops.

Alypius

Alypius Epiſcopus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ dixit: Scriptum ſit illos omnes in villis vel in fundis eſſe Epiſcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus Civitatibus.

Alypius ſaid, Let it be recorded that all theſe were made Biſhops in Villages and Hamlets, and not in any Cities.

Petilianus Ep. dixit: Sic & tu multos habes per omnes Agros diſperſos, immo crebros ubi habes, ſane & ſine populis habes.

Petilianus Anſwered: And you have many diſperſed in the Country, and of thoſe ſeveral without any people to govern.

And now the reader may perceive by wha methods the Dioceſes of *Africk* came to be ſo numerous: It was not the example of the Bees that made Biſhops ſwarm ſo much there, but an unhappy Schiſm, and the affectation of number to ſupport the credit of it, then a neceſſity that lay on the Catholicks to add number to their weight, and to turn the ballance on their ſide, no leſs in point of reputation, than it inclined of it ſelf as to the juſtice of their cauſe: and yet after all this the Dioceſes were not ſo little as our Pariſhes; for reckoning after the utmoſt computation there will be a great difference: for the number of ſubſcribers on the part of the Catholicks in this Conference was two hundred ſixty ſix, vacant Sees ſixty four, abſent two hundred and

Subſcribed 266, 14 preſent that did not ſubſcribe: abſent of the Catholicks 120. Brevic. Col.

Coll. Carth. Cog. 1. 212. 215.

and twenty: in all five hundred and fifty Dioceſes: The Donatiſts had two hundred ſeventy nine ſubſcribers, ſaid they had more abſent than the Catholicks, beſides vacant Sees, but mention no number: and ſince by this Conference it appears every Dioceſs had two Biſhops at leaſt one with another, the Dioceſes will not be found to be very ſmall; and perhaps if the abſents and vacancies of the Catholicks were to be examined, they would not all have proved effective, or not far to exceed the number of the Dioceſes of *Africk* as they were after reduction by the Emperours edict at the time of *Hunnericus* his conqueſt of that Country, which I have mentioned before out of the *Notitia Africæ* publiſhed by *Syrmond.*

Auguſtine writes but 120, which probably is the truth, Brev. Coll. c. 12.

Auguſtine ſhews from the confeſſion of the Donatiſts, that they had not not ſo great a number abſent as the Catholicks, becauſe they had confeſſed that all their Biſhops young and old were there, excepting only thoſe that were hindred by ſickneſs. *ibid.*

And yet in all this diviſion ſeveral Biſhopricks in *Africk* had the fortune to remain intire, and ſo large that they were not inferiour to our Dioceſes in *England* for largeneſs of Territory: For in the whole Province of *Tripolis* there were but five Dioceſes, at the time of the third Council of *Carthage*, and the *Notitia Africæ* which was taken ſome

Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 39.

Codex Can. 49. An. 397.

Tripolitana Provincia ab ortu habet aram Philenorum, & lineam abea ductam ad Lybicas gentes, ab occaſu Tritonem fluvium quo dividitur à Byzacena, à Septentrione terminatur mari Africo, à meridie dejectis Libycis. Carol. à S. Paul. p. 91.

years

years after, ſets down but one more, for which reaſon the *African* Councils made ſeveral exceptions in their favour, as that there ſhould be required the preſence but of one Biſhop of that Province in any Council: and that few Biſhops might be allowed to ordain there, in conſideration of their number.

Beſides there were ſeveral large Biſhopricks in the other Provinces: for we find in the Canons of the *African* Councils, that one Biſhop had ſuch extent of Territory as might be divided into ſeveral Dioceſes, and where it is permitted any part of a Dioceſs, as a conſiderable Town, and the Territory belonging to it, to chuſe a Biſhop for themſelves, with the conſent of him, part of whoſe Dioceſs they were; It is added, *ut eadem Diœceſis permiſſa proprium tantum habeat Epiſcopum, cæteras ſibi non vindicet Diœceſes, quia exempta de faſce multarum ſola meruit honorem Epiſcopatus ſuſcipere: It is enough, when a Biſhop gives way that another Biſhop ſhould be ſet up in part of his Dioceſs, that that part which he grants this to, may have their own Biſhop; but this new Biſhop is not to aſſume any right over the other parts of his Dioceſs: Becauſe his part being taken out of the bundle of ſeveral Dioceſes, (i. e. ſuch as would make ſeveral like his, but belonging all to the ſame Cathedral,) was alone deſigned for this new Biſhoprick:* And to the ſame effect he calls that ancient intire Dioceſs out of which another is to be taken *Maſſa Diœceſium*, Codex Can. 56.

ceſium, an aggregation of Dioceſes, or as we would now ſpeak, of Rural Deanries: The ſame thing is ſuppoſed by the Canon that *forbids a Biſhop to leave his Cathedral, and live in any other Church in his Dioceſs.* And by another to this effect, *That the Presbyters who are Rectors of Churches in a dioceſs, ought before Eaſter to repair to their proper Biſhop for Chriſm, and not to take it of any other*, who perhaps may be nearer: it would be endleſs to cite all the circumſtances that imply the greatneſs of the *African* Dioceſes even at this time; I will ſelect ſome Dioceſes there whoſe extent is mentioned occaſionally, but without any remark of their being extraordinary in compariſon of others.

Con. Carth. 5. c. 5.

Con. Carth. 4. 36.

Cod. Can. 78. The Dioceſs of *Hippo Diaretorum*, not *Regia*, where St. *Auguſtin* was Biſhop is ſaid to contain many Churches, by that Canon whereby it is provided that *Equitius* the Biſhop of it is to be depoſed, and another put in his place; and for the eaſier effecting of it, it is ſaid, *Eccleſiæ ibi ab his retinentur qui* Equitii *facinoroſam communionem declinaverunt.*

Auguſt. Ep. 236. The Dioceſs whereof *Xantippus* was Biſhop muſt be ſuppoſed of good extent, for *Auguſtine* complains to him of one *Abundantius* a Presbyter in *fundo Straboneſi*, at a great diſtance from his Biſhop, and near it ſeems to *Auguſtine*, as may be gathered from the nature and manner of the complaint: in the ſame place there is Presbyter *Gippi-*

tanus

tanus who was neighbour to this *Abundantius*, or rather they lived both together, tho' they had ſeveral Cures.

Alypius Biſhop of *Tagaſtis*, had likewiſe the Church *Thyana* under him, which probably was a conſiderable City, as may be gathered from the Epiſtle of St. *Auguſtin* to *Melania*, whoſe Son was forced by a tumult of the people of *Hippo* to take Orders. *id. Ep.* 289.

Hippo Regia the Dioceſs of St. *Auguſtin* was very large, He mentions many Parochial Presbyters and Pariſhes in it, as *Presbyter Germanicienſis*, *Armemanſis*, *Subſana*, where *Timothy* was ordained Reader, which occaſioned no ſmall trouble: *Mallitana*, *Turres*, *Ciran*, *Vitalis*, *&c.* And ſuch was the number of Churches in his Dioceſs, that he excuſes himſelf to a friend, whom he had promiſed to aſſiſt in ſome kind of Study, that he could not be as good as his word, becauſe he was gone upon his Viſitation, which would hold a conſiderable time: and therefore he remits him to one of his Presbyters: *Quoniam viſitandarum Eccleſiarum ad meam curam pertinentium neceſſitate profectus ſum:* But we have a clearer account of the extent of this Dioceſs than of any other in *Africk*, in his Letter to *Celeſtinus* Biſhop of *Rome*, where he mentions a place in his *Ep.* 74. 212 236. *Ep.* *id Ep.* 261. *Volens prodeſſe quibuſdam in noſtra vicinitate.* This Neighbourhood which Mr. B. ſometimes argues from, to ſhew the ſmallneſs of Dioceſes then, was not the next door or the next Town.

neigh-

neighbourhood, as he expresses it, that belonged to his Diocess, and had never had a Bishop of its own; yet forty miles distant from *Hippo*: the passage because it is something remarkable I will set down in St. *Austins* words. *Fussala dicitur, Territorio Hipponensi confine Castellum, antea ibi nunquam Episcopus fuit, sed simul cum contigua sibi Regione ad Paræciam Hipponensis Ecclesiæ pertinebat.* ——— ——*i. e.* The place is called *Fussala*, a Town adjoyning to the Territory of *Hippo*, which never had a Bishop of it own, but belonged to the Diocess of *Hippo* with the Country about it: *Sed quod ab Hippone memoratum castellum millibus quadraginta sejungitur*: because it is forty miles distant from *Hippo*, and the miserable condition of that Church requiring the presence of a Bishop, he ordained one for them, which not proving as useful as he expected, he sends this Letter to excuse himself:

Collat. Carth. 1. 65. Nor are we to imagine that the Diocess of *Hippo* was singularly great above all the rest of *Africk*, but that *Carthage*, *Cirta*, *Milevis*, and many others of the more eminent Bishopricks, had more Churches under the inspection of their Bishops: and the Diocess of *Milevis* particularly had besides Towns and Villages, Cities likewise belonging to it; for besides *Milevis*, *Civitas Tuncensis* belonged to that Bishop.

And

And now if Mr. *B.* and the Nonconformiſts in whoſe name he makes Dioceſan Epiſcopacy a reaſon of Separation, had lived in *Africa* in the time of *Cyprian* or *Auguſtin*, they muſt have renounced their communion, or muſt have renounced theſe principles, they muſt have been Nonconformiſts there, and abhorred the largeneſs of the Biſhops Dioceſes, no leſs than the *Donatiſts* did the largeneſs of their Charity: *Auguſtin* would have been reckoned for all his learning and holineſs, no better than an Antichriſtian Biſhop, and our Reformers muſt have had toleration to Separate from him; and what is the ſweeteſt liberty of all, to diſcharge their gall and bitterneſs upon him. So that this is our comfort, that theſe men that are ſuch irreconcileable enemies to our Church, would have been no otherwiſe to the *Prophets*, the holy Primitive Biſhops *that have gone before us*. And for the ſame reaſon they reproach us, they muſt reproach the ancient renowned Churches of Chriſt: Nay the Church Univerſal, as will further appear by what follows.

Although it may ſeem ſufficient for my deſign to have ſhewed the progreſs of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy in *Africk*, the Country that Mr. *B.* ſingles out, as retaining the cleareſt footſteps of the Congregational form; yet for farther ſatisfaction in this point I will briefly ſhew the progreſs of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy in other Nations, and ſhew how at firſt they were but few in compariſon, not

only for want of Christians in all Cities and Villages, but by choice; and when they came afterwards to be multiplyed, it was not so much from the increase of believers, as from Schisms and divisions in the Church, and from the increase of Metropoles by the Christian Emperors: in order to which I shall proceed upon the same grounds I have done hitherto. From the great number of Christians that were dispersed into all parts and Cities, and the small number of Bishops that met in Councils, especially Provincial, where all were obliged to be present; as also from some general expressions of the condition of some Bishops in the earliest times, as it is to be presumed that in the earliest times of the Church, the Provincial Synods were the majority at least of the Bishops in the several Provinces: so the first Synod had so few Bishops that we must needs conclude their number then to be very small. For instance therefore,

Ex Libello Synod. The *Gallick* Synod assembled at *Lyons* under *Irenæus*, against *Marcion* and other Hereticks, had but twelve Bishops in it.

Ibid. The Synod of *Hierapolis* under *Apolinarius* against *Montanus* and *Maximilla* had twenty six.

Ib'd. The Synod of *Anchialus* under *Sotas* had twelve or thirteen Bishops. And *Eusebius* having cited two or three subscriptions out of *Serapions* Epistle, adds, that there were the subscriptions of many more, not naming

Hist. eccl. l. 5. c. 9.

naming the number, perhaps becauſe in his time it would have looked but inconſiderable, all being but twelve.

The Synod of *Epheſus* under *Polycrates* about the time of Eaſter, was probably more numerous than moſt of the Provincial Councils of this age, as conſiſting not only of the Biſhops of *Aſia*, but of thoſe of the neighbouring Countries; as we may conclude from *Victors* attempt to excommunicate them: *Polycrates* in his Letter to *Victor* ſayes they were *a conſiderable number*, and if he ſhould write down all their names, it would ſeem a great multitude: But no number is any where expreſſed.

Τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἅμα τοῖς ὁμόφυλοις Ἐκκλησίαις, Euſeb. l. 5. c. 25.

Πολλὰ πλήθη εἰσίν. *Libel Synod.*

But a Synod held at *Rome* about the ſame ſubject had but fourteen Biſhops, and ſeveral other Synods about this Controverſy had not many more. That of *Jeruſalem* under *Narciſſus* had but fourteen: And the famous Council under *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Caſarea* had but twelve beſides him; *Euſebius* makes but one of both theſe: *Bede* repreſents it as an extraordinary great Aſſembly, for the Preface to it I conceive to be his, he makes him to aſſemble not only the Biſhops of his own Province, but from ſeveral other parts.

Papa Victor direxit Authoritatem: not the language of that time. *Præcepta itaq; authoritate prædictus Epiſcopus non ſolum de ſua Provincia, ſed de diverſis Regionibus omnes Epiſcopos evocavit.*

The Council of *Lyons* under *Irenæus* made up but fourteen: That of *Corinth* under *Bachillus* eighteen: That under *Paſna* or *Palma* the ſame number: That of *Oſroena* eighteen, but the Preſident of it is not known: That of *Meſapotamia* which follows had the ſame number, and it may be was the ſame Synod; as that of *Rome* which follows is it may be the ſame with that which is mentioned before to have had the like number; and the occaſion of ſuch miſtakes as theſe, is, that when men find a Synod cited upon ſeveral accounts, although it might be the ſame meeting that determined ſeveral things, they are apt to conclude they were ſeveral Synods.

However it is plain from hence, that there were but few Biſhops in compariſon of what they grew to within an hundred years after, and that I take to be an argument of the largeneſs of their Dioceſes.

But you will ſay, there were but few Chriſtians in theſe Parts: The countrary is notorious to all the Word, for theſe parts where moſt of theſe Councils were held, were the beſt planted and furniſhed with Chriſtians of any in the World: *But it may be there were but few in the world at this time.* It is not long after this that *Tertullian* wrote his Apology, and what number of Chriſtians there were then, we have ſhewed already. *How then can this be imagined, for every City, if it have a Church muſt have a Biſhop*; there is no abſolute neceſſity of that, that it ſhould have

have its peculiar Biſhop: for we have ſeen already one Biſhop, as that of *Milevis*, had more Cities than one in his Dioceſs, and it had been ſo from ancient time, or rather from the beginning, *antiquitus pertinuit*: And in this time we are now ſpeaking of, it is likely the Apoſtolick conſtitution of Biſhopricks, which in the beginning, as *Rabanus Maurus* obſerved, were very large, did hold; and it was the beſt ſuited to the infancy of the Church, when one general viſitour ſhould take care of ſeveral Churches ſcattered as yet, and incoherent: and becauſe a perſecution might overthrow theſe little beginnings, it was neceſſary there ſhould be one, whoſe office it ſhould be, to cultivate theſe new Plantations, and where they were rooted up, to ſet anew, and to confirm thoſe that were ſhaken with a competent diſtrict. But when Chriſtians multiplyed every where, and moſt Cities had ſuch numbers belonging to them, as muſt be diſtributed into ſeveral Congregations, the Dioceſs of the firſt conſtitution became too great, and every City with ſome of the Territory belonging to it, became a Dioceſs, and had its proper Biſhop. And this ſeems to be moſt agreeable both to the Scripture Hiſtory of the Church which we have made a deduction of before, and to the progreſs of the Church in ſucceeding ages; and particularly to the numbers of Biſhops which are found in the firſt Synods: But to proceed,

The Synod at *Rome* under *Victor* wherein *Novatus* was condemned was much more numerous than any mentioned before, and consisted of sixty Bishops besides Priests and Deacons; and *Eusebius* speaking of this, observes the number to be very extraordinary, considering the circumstances of those times, and the numbers assembled in foregoing Synods: But the *Libellus Synodicus* reckons but eighteen, which it may be was a small Synod previous to this greater one mentioned by *Eusebius*.

Ἐφ' ᾧ συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συνκροτηθείσης ἑξήκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων. *Euseb. Hist. l. 6. c. 43.*

Ἐν μεγίσταις τῶν ἐπισκόπων συνόδοις.

The Eastern Synods about Rebaptizing Hereticks were reckoned as for those times very numerous; and yet that of *Iconium* the greatest of those of the East consisted of but fifty Bishops, and these met together out of several Countries, as *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and other neighbouring Provinces. St. *Augustin* despises the smalness of their numbers, though *Dionysius* confesses these were mighty Synods in his time, or rather before his time; for they seem to be earlier than *Baronius* places them: *But what were these against so many thousand Bishops as were in the world then?* sayes *Augustin*. I believe it would have been a very hard matter to have found so many thousand Bishops at that time; I am sure the Acts of the Church discover no such multitudes of them, and they must be very negligent, if they should be

Euseb. l. 7. c. 5. Plurimi tractavimus, Firmil. Ep. ad Cypr. contra Crescon. l. 3. c. 3.

be ſo many, and yet ſuffer things to be carried any way in Councils by a very few perſons: that Father judged of former ages by his own, when Dioceſes were exceedingly multipyed, even to be the grievance and complaint of the *African* Church. But *Baronius* goes to mend the matter by telling us, that this opinion could find but fifty to countenance it among all the Biſhops of the Eaſt: One would imagine by this that the Councils of *Iconium* and *Synadæ*, were but a ſmall number of Biſhops, proteſting againſt the general ſuffrage of their neighbour Biſhops. But if this were true, *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome* had acted very extravagantly and upon ill information, when upon the account of thoſe publick reſolutions taken by fifty Biſhops, he goes to excommunicate all the Biſhops of *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and the bordering Nations. *An. Ch.* 258 *Euſeb. l.* 7. *c.* 5.

What number of Biſhops *France* had at this time appears from the Council, where *Paul* Biſhop of *Narbonne* was accuſed of incontinence, *Evocatis paucis Epiſcopis Galliæ, quia nondum erant plures*, having called a few Biſhops together, for at that time *Gallia* had not many. *Vita S. Pauli ap. Boſquet Hiſt. Eccl. Gal. par.* 2.

Nor do we find that Dioceſes were much multiplyed in *Spain* as yet, the famous Council of *Illiberis*, which decreed ſo many things relating to Communion, and ſuch as all the Churches there muſt be ſuppoſed to conſent to, had but nineteen Biſhops; a number

so small that *Baronius* takes occasion from hence to despise the Authority of the Assembly. But what ever may be inferred from the smalness of their number, surely one must infer that their Dioceses were Divided into Parishes from Canon seventy seven, where it is ordered, *That if a Deacon who has the government of a Congregation or Parish without a Bishop or Presbyter, shall Baptize any, the Bishop shall perfect it by Confirmation; or if in the mean time the party dyes, we are to hope well of him*

Si quis Diaconus regens plebem sine Episcopo vel Presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, &c. Conc. Illib c. 77.

Hic regere posse plebem Diaconum, hoc est curam Parochiæ habere, Hispani Episcopi docent, & Baptizare posse, Mendoza.

Πρεσβύτεροι ἐπισκοπείοις, &c. Conc Neocæs. c. 13.

The Council of *Neocæsarea* in like manner does signifie the same distribution of Dioceses into several Parishes, where the Country Presbyters are distinguished from those of the City, and the former are forbid to officiate in the Citie's Cathedral in the presence of the Bishops or Presbyters belonging to them.

Now when *Constantines* conversion had made so great and happy a change in the affairs of the Church, when the Civil power that hitherto used all means possible to destroy it, took it not only into its protection, but to special favour and kindness; and studyed all means possible to render it great and honourable, the number of Bishops and Dioceses were so far from being diminished, that they soon after were exceedingly encreased, partly by the Emperors multiply-

tiplying Metropoles, partly by the unhappy Diviſions that ſoon after afflicted the Church, as will appear by the progreſs of this deduction.

When *Conſtantine* Indicted the Council of *Nice*, it appears from *Euſebius* that he us'd all means to have as great an Aſſembly of Biſhops as could well come together; for which purpoſe he furniſh'd many of them, eſpecially ſuch as were at a great diſtance with convenience for Travail: and there is no doubt but as many as could have any means of going, would be carri'd thither by their curioſity to ſee and enjoy the Preſence of a Chriſtian Emperor, that new Miracle that God had wrought in favour of his Church: and accordingly they came from all parts of the *Roman* Empire, and ſome from the Nations beyond it. The Countries that lay next to *Nice* did doubtleſs ſend the greateſt part of their Biſhops: as may be inferr'd by comparing the ſubſcriptions of the Biſhops of *Paleſtine Phœnice*, *Cœloſyria*, *Egypt*, and ſome other Countries, either with the Ancient *Notitiæ* of the Dioceſes of thoſe Countries, or the ſubſcriptions of following Councils; and it is obſervable that the Province of *Bithynia* where this Council was held, had but 13 Biſhops Preſent, though the principal Biſhops of the Province were extreamly concern'd, and at laſt condemned by this Synod: therefore we cannot but conclude that that Province had very few more. Yet after all this

Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l 3 c. 6.

this care to make a full assembly, the number of Bishops scarce exceeded 250. as *Eusebius* who was present does affirm; and *Eustatius* Bishop of *Antioch* reckons but 20 more, though the Common opinion reckons 318. and yet how small a number is this in comparison of some succeeding Councils, where we find without half *the Apparatus*, that belong'd to the *Nicene* Council, double the number meet together: The Council of *Sardica* on the part of the Catholicks, had near 300. the Hereticks had great numbers at the same time in *Philippopolis*: the *Arrian* Council of *Sirmium* had 300 Western Bishops besides those of the East; that of *Ariminum* had 400. Bishops from the Western parts of the Empire; for in the East there was another Council called at *Seleucca*: and lastly, that of *Chalcedon* had no less than 600. There can be no reasonable account given of this difference, but that the multitude of Dioceses was strangely increas'd; for *Constantine* design'd the Council of *Nice* to be as great and Magnificent as was possible, and yet it was nothing in comparison with those that followed, nay was outdone by some Provincial Councils of *Africk*.

232. *according to the MS. cited by Mr.* Selden *in Eutich* συναγωγὴ καὶ ἔκδοσις τῶν ἁγίων συνόδων · *Which* Sandius *takes to be* Sabinus *often mention'd by* Socrates: *and one that expos'd this Council, as consisting of poor Illiterate men.*

ὑχοῦν τ ἦν ἀκλινῆ καὶ βεβαίαν τάξιν λαβεῖν εἰ μὴ εἷς ταυτὸ πάντων ὁμοῦ ἡ τῶν γῆν πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων συνελθόντων. *Euseb. vit. Const. l.* 3. 17.

And

And as the number of the Council of *Nice* ſhews that Dioceſes in thoſe times were not ſo many, nor ſmall as they became afterwards; ſo the Canons of the ſame Council, do ſuppoſe Biſhopricks to be very large, and forbid the dividing of them: for one Canon orders that *every Biſhop ſhould be ordained by all the Biſhops of his Province.* And conſidering how large Eccleſiaſtical Provinces were then, they cannot ſuppoſe all the Paſtours of every Congregation to meet, nor indeed the Miniſters of every good Town or ſubſtantial Village, which in ſeveral Provinces would amount to ſeveral thouſands, without making ſuch an Aſſembly more numerous than any general Council that ever was in the world: another Canon provides againſt the dividing of Dioceſes in caſe a Novatian Biſhop ſhall happily be willing to be reconcil'd to the Church; but that he ſhould be content with the place of Presbyter, unleſs the Catholick Biſhop ſhould think fit to leave him the title of a Biſhop; if not, then to make him a *Chorepiſcopus*, *i. e.* the Rector of a Country Pariſh in his Dioceſe, or a City Presbyter, leſt there ſhould be two Biſhops in the ſame City: The *African* Councils took another courſe as we have ſeen, and divided the Dioceſe in ſuch a Caſe; but when they conſider'd the Authority of this Council, we find them changing

Can. 4. Ἐπίσκοπον ποιεῖσθαι μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ προϊσταμένων, εἰ δὲ δύσχερές.

Can. 8.

Inveniat ei locum ut ſit in Parochia Chorepiſcopus.

ing their Practice: for *Augustin* when he had design'd his Successour, yet would not suffer him to be ordain'd in his life time, because he would not violate this Canon, although his Predecessor had permitted his Ordination while he was alive; but *Augustin* makes his excuse, that he did not know of this Canon then, and yet his Diocese was large enough to hold two; but he understood this *one City* with all its dependencies; and thought that by vertue of this Canon there ought not to be two Bishops together in the Diocese of *Hippo* that was above forty miles in length. The Diocese of *Constantinople* to which *Constantine* was so great a Patron, was very considerable in his time; for it had so far outgrown the measure of one Congregation, that the Emperor thought it necessary to build a great many Churches, and very large Temples, or Martyria, because they were dedicated to the memory of Martyrs; and this not only within the City, but in the Suburbs, that is, in the language of that time, the Territory belonging to it: And it is great pity there was no Bishop or Presbyter that could inform the welmeaning Emperor, that this was mistaken devotion, to submit all these Churches to one Bishop.

August. Ep.

Ἐυκτηρίοις πλείοσιν ἐφαίδρυνε μαρτυρίοις τεμεγίστοις. *Euseb. vit. Const. l. 3. c. 46.*

The Council of *Antioch* supposes Bishops to have large Dioceses, and therefore provides that *Country Presbyters* shall not give Canonical

An. Ch. 341. Can. 8.

Canonical Epiſtles, not ſo much as to the next neighbouring Biſhop, but the *Chorepiſcopi* may ſend ſuch as were called εἰρηνικαί, for friendly correſpondence and concord. And the next Canon about the power of Metropolitans, where it is forbid any Biſhop to do any thing of great moment that may concern the whole Province without the concurrence of the Metropolitan, does notwithſtanding allow, *that he may govern his own Church, and all the Regions under his juriſdiction.*

Μήδε πρεσβυτέρους τὸς ἐν ταῖς χώραις χαρτικὰς ὑποστολὰς διδόναι, τὸς δὲ ἀνεπιλήπτους χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου διδόναι εἰρηνικάς. Ταῦτα μόνα ὅσα τῇ ἐπάρχῳ ὑπβάλλει παροικία, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις *Can.* 9.

Another Canon ſuppoſes more than one City in a Dioceſs, and therefore Orders, *That a Biſhop ſhall not Ordain a Presbyter or a Deacon in another City than his own, or that is not ſubject to him.*

Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει, τῇ μὴ ὑποκειμένῃ αὐτῷ, &c. *Can.* 22.

The Council of *Colen* diſcovers the Dioceſes thereabout to be very large, for the Biſhops aſſembled had moſt of them their Seats at a great diſtance from *Colen*: *Servatius* Biſhop of *Tongres* in his Subſcription adds ſomething concerning his own knowledg of *Euphratas* Biſhop of *Colen*; and he gives for his reaſon that he was his next neighbour, and yet their Cities are fifty or ſixty Engliſh miles diſtant one from the other: and the extent

Concil. Agrippin. An. 346. *Non opinione, ſed veritate cognovi, pro finitimi loci conjuncta civitate*

extent of the Dioceſs of *Colen* appears from the ſame Council, where not only the people of the City exhibite their complaint againſt him; but of all the Towns of the ſecond *Germany*, whereof *Colen* was *Metropolis*, and moſt of them belonged to that Dioceſs.

Subſcriptio Struatii. Cumq; recitata fuiſſet

Epiſtola plebis Agrippinenſis, ſed & omnium Caſtrorum Germaniæ ſecundæ. Ap. Conc. acta.

Provincia Germaniæ ſecundæ Metropolis. Civitas Agrippinenſ, Colonia. Libel. Provinciar.

The Council of *Sardica* conſidering what courſe the *Arians* took to ſtrengthen their party, by increaſing the number of Biſhops, as the inſtance of *Iſchyras* Presbyter of *Mareotes* ſhews, who was Ordained Biſhop of a Village by the *Arian* Council of *Tyre*, thought fit to declare againſt ſuch proceedings, as derogating from the dignity of a Biſhop: and therefore Decree, *That no Village or inconſiderable City ſhall have a Biſhop, or any place where a Presbyter may ſuffice*: and leſt you may imagine this an innovation to favour the growing greatneſs of the Biſhops, they add immediately, *That the Biſhops of a Province ſhall Ordain Biſhops in thoſe Cities where there were any before*; which ſuppoſes, that there were ſeveral Cities after the Empire became Chriſtian, that had never yet had Biſhops: Nay they add farther, That *when a City grow*

Μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἢ ἁπλῶς καθ-ολου ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ, ἢ βραχείᾳ πόλει: *Con. Sard. c. 6.*

grows very populous, ſo as to be fit to receive a Biſhop, it may have one: To the ſame purpoſe is the Decree of the Council of *Laodicea*, held after that of *Sardica*, and much later than is generally pretended: *That Biſhops ought not to be made in Villages, or in the Country but Viſitors*: who by the name they bear appear to be Dioceſans, becauſe they have ſeveral Congregations under them which they are to viſit: and as for ſuch Country Biſhops as are already, they muſt take care to act nothing of moment without the advice and privity of the City Biſhops.

ἀλλὰ περιοδευτάς. *Viſitatores qui circumeant, ſiſid. Merca.*

Yet all this while Dioceſes do multiply againſt all means uſed to prevent it: as we may perceive by the extraordinary numbers that met in Councils, exceeding very much the greateſt of thoſe that had gone before: Extraordinary numbers met at *Sirmium* and *Ariminum*; at the latter all the Biſhops of the Weſt are ſaid to have met; for the Emperors Officers were ſent all over *Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Africk*, *Spain*, *France*, to ſummon the Biſhops to meet at *Ariminum*: *and all the Biſhops* are ſaid to come thither from all the *Cities of the Weſt.*

Acciti atq; tracti 400, *& amplius Epiſcopi. Sul. Sev. l. 2.*

Εἰς γὰρ Ἀρίμινον ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πρὸς δύσιν πόλεων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες ἐπίσκοποι συνήλθομεν *Epiph. Synod. ap. Athan. de Synod.*

And now as we may obſerve the number of Biſhops and Dioceſes to increaſe; ſo we may make ſome judgment concerning the occaſion,

occasion, from that little light that is left in this particular: We have but a very obscure account of the erecting of Bishopricks, how and when most of them were founded; but those instances that are preserved are sufficient to make us comprehend how the numbers came to increase so sensibly after the breaking out of the *Arian* controversy: and in *Egypt* some time before upon the occasion of the *Meletian* Schism, *Meletius* having left the Communion of the Catholick Church, formed a separate faction, and Ordained Bishops and Presbyters in every Country, and in every place through which he passed; nor was he content to set up only one Altar against another, but to erect several in the same Diocess.

Epiph. Her. 68.

Nor is there yet any end of dividing Dioceses, but these increase in proportion to the divisions of the Church; and as the *Meletian* Schism multiplyed Bishops in *Egypt*, the Author of that Sect Ordaining Bishops in every Region, and in every place that he passed through, several in the same Diocess, and as the *Arian* Controversy made Bishops where there never were any before: so it is not to be doubted but the Controversies which followed, multiplyed Dioceses no less than these.

Meletius: Κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τόπον διερχόμενος καθίσταν κληρικοὺς ἐπισκόπους, &c. *Epiph. Hær.* 68.

Athan. Ap. 2.

But besides this the multiplying of Metropolitans by the Christian Emperors contributed

tributed no less to multiply Bishops. We have an eminent instance of this in the Province of *Cappadocia* in the time of *Basil* the Great: The province being divided between two Civil Metropoles; the Bishop of *Tyana* the new Metropolis thought that accordingly all that part of the Country that belonged to the Civil jurisdiction of his City, became no less subject to him as his Ecclesiastical Province, which occasioned great disputes and animosities between the two Metropolitans. *Basil* complains of the Bishops of the second *Cappadocia* that they presently renounced him in a manner: and when he made any difficulty of Ordaining any Bishop belonging to his Province, *Anthimus* was ready to admit him, as it happened in the case of *Faustus*. Therefore to oppose the power of this new Usurping Metropolitan, he betakes himself to the ordinary relief of making more Suffragans, that by this means he might have some remedy from a Provincial Synod: To this purpose *Sasima* a small Town belonging to *Cæsarea* is made an Episcopal Seat, and *Gregory Nazianzen* is preferred to it much against his will, as a Person that might be of use to him against his Antagonist, which he complains of in his Epistles to *Basil*, and in his account of

Ep. 259.

Epist. 58. & 195. Αὐτὴ Σασίμων τῶν ἡμῶν ἐκκλησία· τούτοις μὲν ὁ πεντήκοντα χωρεπισκόποις σεμνούμενος δέδωκε, τῆς εὐψυχίας· καὶ πάντα ἵνα ἀρπάζοντος ἄλλου πρὸς βίαν, περικρατήσῃ τὴν καθέδραν Καινίσας: *Naz. de Vit. suâ*: & *Ep.* 22, 23.

his own life, and so sensible was he of *Basil*'s ingaging him in this quarrel, that he cannot forbear expressing his resentments even in the Funeral Oration of his friend: where besides this new Bishoprick he shews that several others were erected upon that contention, and that the Church had this advantage that, *By the increase of Bishops there would be a more exact and particular care taken of Souls, and every City should be governed in all Ecclesiastical affairs within it self*: which before in that Country it seems they were not used to: And Lastly *That by this means the strife endeds*, After what manner he does not say, perhaps this increase of Bishops carried the cause for *Basil* against *Anthimus*, and so the controversy ended: However *Nazianzen* commends *Basil* here for multiplying Dioceses, yet in the Verses before cited, he makes it a very unnecessary innovation for him to set up a Bishop at *Sasima* having no less than fifty Suffragan Bishops in his Province already; yet if we consider how far *Sasima* was probably from *Cæsarea* we must conclude the Diocess of *Basil* out of which this is expresly said to be taken, to have been very large: for that this place was at some good distance from *Basil*, we may perceive from *Nazianzen*'s complaint

Προσθήκην γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποιεῖται τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν, ὡς κάλλιστα διατίθεται πλείοσιν ὀπισκόποις τὴν πατρίδα καταπυκνώσας, ὃς οὔτε γίνεται τρία τὰ κάλλιστα ψυχῶν ὀπιμέλεια πλείων, καὶ τὸ πόλιν ἑκάστην τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἔχειν, καὶ τὸ λυθῆναι ταύτῃ τὸν πόλεμον. *Naz. Or. de Basil.*

Τί δὲ τῶν λαμπροῦν Σασίμων ἀποστερεῖν μετρόπολιν.

complaint as if he had been baniſhed by this promotion into ſome remote place. 2. If any gueſs may be made by comparing the itinerary from *Conſtantinople* to *Jeruſalem*, Printed with that of *Antonius* with the *Tabula Peuterigerana*, the diſtance muſt be as great at leaſt as between *Hippo* and *Fuſſala*; for in that Itinerary there is reckoned ſixteen miles from *Saſima* to *Andavalis*, which in *Peutingers* tables is a great way from *Cæſarea*. 3. *Saſima* in the Ancient Greek *Notitia* Printed with others by *Carolus à S. Paulo*, is ſet down in the ſecond *Cappadocia*, which was under the Metropolis of *Thyana*: and therefore it is not likely to be very near *Cæſarea* the Metropolis of the other *Cappadocia*: And one may obſerve that the Dioceſes of *Cappadocia* notwithſtanding this diviſion were yet very conſiderable, and far from being reduced into Congregational Churches. It is plain from *Nazianzen* that *Cappadocia* had but fifty Biſhops, for ſo many he ſayes *Baſil* had under him, (and no doubt he owned him as Metropolitan of the whole Province) and conſidering the extent of that Country, the Dioceſes muſt needs be large: for the Country as *Strabo* computes, is near four hundred miles in length, and little leſs in breadth, as *Cauſabon* reſtores the reading of one thouſand eight hundred furlongs in the twelfth book, by a paſſage in the ſecond, where the breadth is made

Apud Itinerarium Antonini Saſus in finibus Ciliciæ: But this cannot be the ſame with *Saſime* in the other Itinerary.

Ordo Metropolitarum prout deſcriptus eſt in Chartophylacio.

Strab. l. 12.

two thousand eight hundred. And in this compass Bishops may contrive fifty Dioceses of very competent extent, and not inferior to many of ours.

Basil writing to the Presbyters of *Nicopolis*, Salutes the Clergy of the City, and the Clergy of the Diocess. And in a Letter to the Citizens of the same place, desires them to shew a good example of affection towards their new Bishop, to the rest of the Diocess: And in another to the Brethren of *Colonia* whence *Euphronius* was chosen to *Nicopolis*, he tells them that he who was their *Chorepiscopus* before may take care of them still, and continue to be their Bishop: The same Father in another Epistle, shews that *Ancyra* was a Diocess of good extent, for *Eustathius* passing through the Territory of that City, is said to have overthrown the Altars of *Basilides* the Bishop of it, and to set up his own Tables; which supposes several Country Churches under the jurisdiction of that Diocesan. And Lastly when *Basil* directs *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium* to constitute Bishops in the

Bas. Ep 592. Ασπάζομαι πάντα τὸν κλῆρον τόντε κατὰ πόλιν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς παροικίας.

Ep. 94.

Ep. 72. *Evasenis.*

Bas. Ep. 406. *Amphilochio sub nomine Heracleidæ.* Ὁμολογῶ πολλῶν ἀντάξιον εἶναι τὸ ἕνα, καὶ ταῖς Εκκλησίαις λυσιτελέστερον, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἀκινδυνότερον οὕτως οἰκονομῆσαι τῶν ψυχῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐρὶν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ῥᾴδιον, ἡ σπουδὴ γενέθω ἡμῖν πρότερον ταῖς μικροπολιτείαις, ἤτοι κώμαις ταῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ἐπισκόπων θρόνον ἐχούσαις δοῦναι τοὺς προισταμένους, &c.

Pro-

Province of *Iſauria* which at that time was it ſeems diſtitute, upon what occaſion I know not; he enters upon a compariſon between the convenience of large and ſmall Dioceſes, and debates for ſometime, whether it were beſt to Ordain one Biſhop of the Metropolis, *Seleucia* I ſuppoſe, who ſhall take care of the whole Province, and Ordain more Biſhops as he ſhall find expedient, or elſe appoint a number of leſſer Biſhops firſt: "And here he confeſſes that if "he could find one that would anſwer the "character of St. *Paul*, that were *a work-"man, who needed not to be aſhamed*, ſuch a "one would go a great way, and be worth "many little Biſhops; would be of great-"er uſe to the Church, and by that means "we might with leſs hazard undertake "the care of the Souls of the Province: But "if this cannot be done, then let there be "made Biſhops in the leſſer Cities and Vil-"lages where there were Biſhops before, "and the matter be ſo ordered that the Bi-"ſhop of the Principal City may not di-"ſturb us hereafter in point of Ordinations. By which it appears that *Iſauria* was then part of *Baſils* Province; and we may perceive the reaſon why he choſe rather to Ordain the Country Biſhops firſt, to form an intereſt in the firſt place, and to diminiſh the ſtrength and power, and to prevent the uſurpations of the Biſhop of the chief City.

Nor were these *Chorepiscopi* Country Bishops other than Diocesan, as to the extent of their Church, which consisted of many Congregations, and those at a good distance one from the other; for these were not as Rectors of a single Parish, but Visitors of several Churches, to the proportion it may be of our Rural Deaneries, though like them they were more immediately related to a certain Parish or Town: But their Episcopacy was in relation to the association of several Churches. So *Basil* sayes he sent to the *Chorepiscopus of those places*, not of one Country Town; and therefore the Council of *Laodicia* calls them περιοδεύτας, Visitors; and where Cities were not very thick, some of them had the inspection of a large Territory: But yet these were but the Deputies or Surrogates of the City Bishops in point of jurisdiction, for they were to do nothing of moment without their Bishop, and several Councils provide against their Usurpations. *Basil* whose Diocess and Province we come from giving an account of, is so resolute upon his prerogative, that he will not endure they should ordain as much as the inferior Clergy, as Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, and several others which the Church of that time reckon'd among the Clergy without his consent, and if they do let them know (sayes he) *that whosoever is admitted without our consent, shall be reputed but a Layman*: What would he have said if they had pretended to ordain Presbyters or Bishops

Ἐπιστέλλω γὰρ τὸ χωρεπισκόπῳ τῶν τόπων. *Bas. Ep.* 355.

Bas. 181.

Biſhops in oppoſition to them? The Biſhops of the Church of *England* deſire no more than S. *Baſil* aſſumed, That none ſhould be reputed Prieſts or Deacons that were ordained in their Dioceſes without their conſent, and that by ſimple Presbyters who were never *Chorepiſcopi*, or had any character to diſtinguiſh them from other Presbyters. Therefore the caſe ought not to be reckoned ſo hard as it is commonly repreſented by the more moderate Nonconformiſts, who pretend this point of Reordination the only bar that keeps them out of the Church, ſince there was never any other Church, not any in Ancient times would have received them upon any other terms: and they muſt have remained Nonconformiſts under *Baſil*, *Athanaſius*, and all the ancient Biſhops, whoſe names are, and alwayes have been had in veneration with all Chriſtians; not one of theſe would have ever been perſwaded to own a Paſtor that his Presbyters had ordained in oppoſition to him, nay hardly could they have been prevailed with to admit ſuch as any other Biſhop ſhould Ordain within their Dioceſs; ſo extream punctilious they were in this matter; and there is hardly any one thing that cauſed ſo frequent and dangerous contentions between them as the point of Ordination.

Nor was this Province ſingular in the extent of its Biſhopricks, or the manner of their Adminiſtration, but all the parts of

the Christian World went by the same Rule as to Diocesan Episcopacy, and most of them had much larger Dioceses than these we have been speaking of: The Frontier Provinces of the Empire towards the East, being more remote from the contentions that afflicted the Church, were not cantoned into so small Dioceses as other Countries, and being likewise less divided in their Civil Condition, because it might render them less defensible against Invasion, the Ecclesiastical Dioceses likewise remained intire in the the measure of their first Constitution.

Conc. Chal. Act. 10.

The Diocess of *Edessa* seems to be of extraordinary extent, even at the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*, when the ambition of some Metropolitans, and the contentions of Hereticks and Schismaticks had reduced Bishopricks to be very small. For 1. some of the misdemeanors charged upon *Ibas* Bishop of this place, shew that Diocess to be extreamly rich: The Collection for redemption of Captives amounted to fifteen νομίσματα, and tho' it is not easy to reduce that summ to our money, yet we must conclude it to be a considerable sum, when we reflect upon another accusation of *Daniel* Brother to *Ibas*, as if he had bestowed on *Calloa*, the money of the Church, for she had let out to use two or three νομίσματα; which must be a considerable summ, since it's taken notice of as an argument of her wealth: Besides the Church of *Edessa* had

Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πραγματίδια πολλὰ ὄντα, καὶ εἰς ἀπειρον πολὺ συντείνοντα.

six

ſix thouſand more of theſe *Numiſmata* beſides its ordinary Revenues, (and one of its Mannors called *Lafargaritha* is mentioned there) and two hundred pound weight of Church Plate. 2. The City of *Battina* was in the Dioceſs of *Edeſſa*; for *Ibas* is accuſed of having endeavoured to make one *John* Biſhop of it; who was ſuſpected of Magick: But *Ibas* his Arch-Deacon of that place oppoſed it. 3. *Maras* who was one of *Ibas* his accuſers was Excommunicated by another Arch-Deacon of his. 4. The Clergy of the City of *Edeſſa* was above two hundred perſons, not reckoning that of the Country within his Dioceſs; and this was a Dioceſan Biſhop to purpoſe, who beſides a large Dioceſs had Excommunicating Arch-Deacons, and a great Revenue: And if Mr. *B.* or his Brethren had been of that Dioceſs we might have found them among his accuſers.

Παρὰ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα Αρχιδιακόνου αὐτοῦ.

The Dioceſs of *Cyrus* whereof *Theodoret* was Biſhop was yet larger, containing eight hundred Churches, as he writes to *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*: The exceptions which Mr. *B.* makes againſt this Epiſtle are ſo fully anſwered by the incomparable Dean of *Pauls*, that nothing can be added. But if Mr. *B.* ſhould quarrel with any writings of this time for mentioning great Dioceſes, we muſt have a new Critick; and diſgrace a great deal of the Fathers that have hitherto been received by a general conſent: It is a very hard matter to convince men that imagine

Theodor. Ep. 113.

magine all that time for them whereof we have little or no account, and reckon silence of Antiquity for consent; and then if any thing shall appear against what they have once fansi'd, though it be never of so good credit it is spurious; it is all Imposture, because it makes against them: who would ever be convicted, if it shall be Defence enough to say the Evidence is a Lye?

Not. in Epiph. Hæres. Arr. Epiph. Ep. ad Joh. Hieros. ap. Hieron.

Petavius mistaking a passage in *Epiphanius*, thought the Dioceses of *Cyprus* to be very small, but from *Epiphanius* his Letter to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* it appears that his Diocess was of good extent: *John* had a quarrel with him for having Ordained a Presbyter in his Diocess, though it was only for the use of a Monastery: and he excuses himself by shewing how common a thing this was, and how frequently it was done in his own Diocess; and he was so far from taking offence at it, that he thought himself obliged to some of his neighbouring Bishops for using that liberty: and therefore commends the good nature and meekness of the *Cyprian* Bishops who never quarrelled with one another upon this account; and then adds: *That many Bishops of our Communion have Ordained Presbyters in our Province, that we could not take* (because they fled from us on purpose to avoid that honour, which was the modesty of those times)——*Nay, I my self desired* Philo *of blessed memory, and Theophorbus that*

that they would Ordain Presbyters in those Churches of Cyprus which were near them, and belonged to my Dioceſs; becauſe my Province, (*i. e.* my Doceſs) *was very large*: Now that this *Province* which is here ſaid to be of ſo large extent was no other than his Dioceſs, appears from the nature of the thing. For if we ſhall imagine that it was his Province, as Metropolitan, the words will have no ſenſe: for then are not there Biſhops enough diſperſed through this great Province, who may Ordain within their reſpecture Dioceſes, and to them belonged the Ordination of Presbyters, and not to the Metropolitan? If we ſhall take this Province for a Civil diviſion, there will be yet greater abſurdity; for there may be other Metropolitans as well as he, and by what Authority could he diſpoſe of their Dioceſes or Provinces? In ſhort there he gives leave to Ordain Presbyters where the right of Ordaining them belonged to him; and that being in his particular Dioceſs only, it follows that this great Province was no other than his own Dioceſs or *Parochia* as he calls it alſo in the ſame paſſage.

O vere benedicta Epiſcoporum Cypri manſuetudo & bonitas: —— multi Epiſcopi communionis noſtræ & Presbyteros in noſtra ordinaverunt Provincia quos nos comprehendere non poteramus —— & ipſe cohortatus ſum b. m. Philonem, & ſanctum Theophorum, ut in Eccleſiis Cypri quæ juxta ſe erant, ad meæ autem Parochiæ videbantur Eccleſiam pertinere, to quod grandis eſſet & late patens Provincia, ordinarent Presbyteros,

Nor were the Dioceſes of the Weſt generally any thing inferior to thoſe we have been

been ſpeaking of: *Italy* indeed had the ſmalleſt, not only by reaſon of the great multitude of Cities there; but by the policy of the Biſhops of *Rome* who having alwayes had ſome Authority over the greateſt part of the Country, ſtrengthened themſelves by making as many Biſhops as they could within the dependance of their City; and by that means ſecured themſelves from all ſuch dangers as might threaten them from general Councils; having a ſtrong party of Biſhops at hand to ſend whither the Popes occaſions ſhould require their ſervice: What effect this policy of multiplying Biſhops in *Italy* had we ſee in the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, whither ſeveral Biſhops came from *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, with deſign of reforming moſt of the groſſeſt abuſes in the Church, and to moderate, if not wholly to remove that inſupportable Yoke of the Papacy: But the *Italian* Penſioners being too many for the well-meaning Biſhops, that Yoke was ſetled more grievous than before, and weight added to the oppreſſion; No remedy being left but vain complaints, (and *Dudithius* makes a very lamentable one to the Emperor) and then ſubmiſſion. Yet after all this the *Italian* Dioceſes were never reduced to a ſingle Congregation, and ſome of them remain ſtill of a very conſiderable extent.

The Biſhopricks of *Spain* were at firſt very large as may be obſerved from the ſmall numbers of Biſhops that met in the Councils

cils of that Country: The Council of *Eliberis* had but nineteen Biſhops, and the firſt of *Toledo* had the ſame number; from whence *Garſias Loyaſa* infers that theſe were general Councils of all *Spain*, becauſe the Province of *Toledo* (ſayes he) had not ſo many Suffragans at that time; and that *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Sevil* who was a Metropolitan of another Province was there. But the extent of the Spaniſh Dioceſes does appear not only from the number of Biſhops in their Councils, but alſo from the Canons made in them: As that of the Council of *Toledo* is very expreſs about the making of Chriſm, that it belonged only to the Biſhop, and that all the Churches of his Dioceſs ſhould ſend before Eaſter every year for it to the Biſhop, who was to be put in mind of it by the Arch Deacon. And in the ſame Council there is a definitive ſentence, whereby *Ortygius* is reſtored to his Biſhoprick, out of which he had been unjuſtly ejected, that ſhews that his Dioceſs conſiſted of ſeveral Churches; for ſo the Sentence runs, *That he be reſtored to his Churches.*

Hinc colligo Nationale fuiſſe Concilium cum eo tempore ſedes Toletana tot Suffraganeos non haberet Epiſcopos: Similiter de Eliberitano ſtatuo, cum eodem Epiſcoporum numero fuiſſet celebratum: —— adde etiam quod in ſubſcriptionibus Marcellus ſubſcribit qui fuit Epiſcopus Hiſpalenſis. Gar. Loyaſa.

Quamvis pæne ubiq; cuſtodiatur ut abſq; Epiſcopo Chriſma nemo conficiat; tamen quia in aliquibus locis vel Provinciis Presbyteri dicuntur Chriſma conficere, placuit ex hac die nullum alium niſi Epiſcopum Chriſma facere, & per Diœceſin deſtinare, ita ut de ſingulis Eccleſiis ad Epiſcopum ante Diem Paſchæ Diaconi deſtinentur, ut confectum Chriſma ab Epiſcopo deſtinatum ad diem Paſchæ poſſit occurrere, Conc. Toltt. 1. Can. 20. Fratri autem Ortygio Eccleſias de quibus pulſus fuerat, pronunciavimus eſſe reddendas. Exemplar. Defin. ſent.

Nor

Nor can any one think it ſtrange that theſe ſhould be general Councils of all *Spain*, when he conſiders the numbers that uſually met in Provincial Synods of that Country. For the Council of *Saragoſſa* had but twelve, and that number is extraordinary compared with ſome following Councils: *Concilium Gerundenſe* had but ſeven Biſhops; that of *Ilerda* eight, whereof one was preſent but by Proxy; that of *Valentia* ſeven: And leſt we may imagine the Biſhops of *Spain* neglected their Synods, the ſixth Canon of the Council of *Arragon* (which conſiſted of ten Biſhops) Orders, That if any Biſhop having received Summons from his Metropolitan, ſhall neglect to come to Council, being not hindred by ſickneſs, ſhall according to the Decrees of the Ancient Fathers be excluded the communion of the other Biſhops untill the next Council following. And the ſame Council by another Canon ſignifies the extent of the Dioceſes in *Spain*, where it Orders every Biſhop once in a year to viſit his Dioceſes according to the ancient uſage of that Church, and ſee what Churches there were out of repair, and ordered them to be repaired out of the Revenues

Si quis Epiſcoporum commonitus à Metropolitano ad Synodum nulla gravi intercedente neceſſitate Corporali, venire contempſerit, ſicut ſtatuta Patrum ſanxierunt, uſq; ad futurum Concilium cunctorum Epiſcoporum Charitatis Communione privetur. Conc. Tarracon. c. 6.

Multorum caſuum experientia magiſtrante reperimus non nullas Diœceſanas Eccleſias eſſe deſtitutas, ob quam rem hac conſtitutione decrevimus ut Antiquæ conſuetudinis Ordo *ſervetur, & annis vicibus ab Epiſcopo Diœceſes viſitentur, & ſiqua Baſilica reperta fuerit deſtituta, Ordinatione ipſius reparari præcipiatur*, &c. *Can.* 8.

venues of those Churches, there being a third part reserved for that purpose by ancient custom and tradition; and the thirteenth Canon of the same Council makes a distinction between the Presbyters of the Cathedral, and those of the Dioceſs; and that the Metropolitan take care to summon some of both sorts to the Council of the Province. And this was the state of the Dioceſes in *Spain* from the time of the first Council of *Nice*, to the latter end of the fifth, and the beginning of the sixth Century.

Non ſolum è Cathedralis Eccleſiæ Presbyteris, verum etiam de Diœceſanis ad Concilium trahant. Can. 13.

The Churches of *France* as they had a near correſpondence with those of *Spain* in several other things, and as *Bona* conjectures had anciently the same Liturgy before *Pipin*'s time; so they were not unlike in the extent of their Dioceſes: For *Gallia* before the time of the Council of *Nice*, seems to have had but very few Biſhopricks; although it is to be supposed the number of Christians there was much greater than in any other part of the Empire *Conſtantius* the Father of *Conſtantine* the Great having favoured the Christians in the Provinces under his Government, while his Collegues used all manner of Violence and Arts to root them out every where else: Yet when *Conſtantine* the Great called a Council at *Arles* to resume the cause of the *Donatiſts*, the *Gallican* Biſhops it seems were so few that we find but

Bona de Reb. Litur. l. 1. *c.* 12.

Euſeb. de vit Conſt. l. 1. *c.* 13.

vid. Conc. Arelat. 1. *apud Sirmond. Conc. Gall.*

but eight of them ſubſcribe in that Council.

The Council of *Valence* had twenty one Biſhops, and this is very extraordinary for the Province of one Metropolitan, in theſe times; and therefore it is more probable that it was a general one of ſeveral Provinces, or of all *Gallia*: For there is an Epiſtle of this Synod directed to all the Biſhops and Churches of *Gallia*, by way of Preface to the Canons of it, a thing never aſſumed by the particular Synods of a Province; and this will appear yet more probable by comparing this with other Councils that followed.

(The Council of *Regium* or *Riez*) conſiſted but of thirteen Biſhops perſonally preſent, and one Presbyter who was Proxy for a Biſhop.

The firſt Council of *Orange* had but ſixteen perſonally preſent, and one Proxy. And that we may not imagine the *Gallican* Biſhops to be ſo negligent as not to attend theſe Provincial Synods; let us but conſider the eighteenth and nineteenth Canons of the ſecond Council of *Arles*, which provide againſt this neglect: There its ordered, That if any Biſhop be hindred by ſickneſs, he ſhall not fail to ſend his Proxy: But if any Biſhop ſhall neglect to come, or depart before the concluſion of the Aſſembly, let him know that he is ſhut out of his brethrens communion, and ſo to continue until the next Synod ſhall reſtore him. Yet for all this injunction the Synod of *Angers* aſſembled the year

year following had but eight Biſhops, and the third Council of *Arles*, within three years after had but thirteen Biſhops; The Synod of *Tours* ten, whereof one ſubſcribed by Proxy, and another ſubſcribed being abſent, the Canons being ſent to him: The Council of *Vennes* (*Venetum*) had but ſix Biſhops, and there were but two more in the whole Province, as appears by the Epiſtle of that Synod to thoſe two that were abſent, deſiring their confirmation of ſuch Canons as they had made: And Laſtly another Council at *Arles* about Predeſtination, had but twelve ſubſcriptions. From whence it appears how large the Dioceſes of *Gallia* were at that time.

The Ancient *Notitia Galliæ* publiſhed by *Sirmond*, and written as is conjectured in the time of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, reckons in all the ſeventeen Provinces of *Gallia* one hundred and fifteen Cities, taking in all the Country between the *Rhine*, and the Brittiſh Sea: *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* will by no means allow this to be an Eccleſiaſtical *Notitia, becauſe there are ſeveral Cities mentioned in it that never were Epiſcopal ſeats*, and ſeveral Epiſcopal Sees are omitted; indeed the Ancient *Notitia* of the Gallican Biſhopricks publiſhed by that Author, reckons about one hundred twenty and ſix in all that vaſt tract of Country; nor are they ſo few at this day, taking in *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Alſace*, and all the Countries bordering upon the *Rhine*,

Geogr. ſacra Galliæ, p. 124.

to *Cologn* and the Country of *Cleaves*, beſides all the Spaniſh *Netherlands*, all reckoned within the Ancient *Gallia*, which will afford very fair Dioceſes.

But the Acts of the ancient *Gallick* Councils do make yet clearer proof of the largeneſs of the Dioceſes there: *Proculus* Biſhop of *Marſeilles* layes claim to ſeveral Churches as having been anciently Pariſhes of his Dioceſes; and left that the ambiguity of the word *Parochia* may make the ſenſe doubtful, he layes claim in the ſame place to others as depending upon his Metropolis, and where he had Ordained Biſhops.

Con. Taurin. c. 1. Eaſdem Eccleſias vel Parochias ſuas fuiſſe, vel Epiſcopos à ſe in iiſdem Eccleſiis ordinatos,

The Council of *Regium* Orders, That if one be Ordained againſt his will Biſhop of any City by fewer than three Biſhops, or without the conſent of the Metropolitan, that he may be made Rector of one Pariſh in the Dioceſs, if the Biſhop thinks fit; but is to have the government of no more than one Pariſh, and the City Biſhop to Ordain all his Aſſiſtants.

Licèat ei unam Parochiarum Eccleſiam cedere, ——— nec unquam duarum Eccleſiarum gubernationem obtineat.

The Firſt Council of *Orange* appoints, That if a Biſhop ſhall build a Church in another Biſhops Territory; the Ordination of Miniſters to ſerve it ſhall belong to the Biſhop in whoſe Territory it is; but the right of Preſentation and Patronage ſhall be in the Founder of that Church: which ſup-

Con. Araſ. 1. Can. 10.

ſuppoſes a Dioceſs of more Congregations than one.

The Council of *Vaiſon* (*Vaſenſe*) enjoyns all the Miniſters of Pariſhes within every Dioceſs to repair to their Proper Biſhop for Chriſm every year before Eaſter, and not to go to other Biſhops that may be nearer to them. *Per ſingula Territoria Presbyteri vel Miniſtri ab Epiſcopis, non prout libitum fuerit vicinioribus, ſed à ſuis propriis per annos ſingulos chriſma petant, appropinquante ſolemnitate Paſchali. Con. vaſ. c. 3.*

There would be no end of inſtances of this kind, within the ſpace of five hundred years after Chriſt: but this is ſufficient for our preſent deſign, which is only to give a view of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy; of the Riſe and Propreſs of it in ſeveral parts of the Chriſtian World.

As to our own Country of *Brittain*, for whoſe uſe Mr. *B.*'s Church Hiſtory is more eſpecially calculated, and againſt whoſe Biſhops all the Venom is directed, it is certain indeed that we had Biſhops betimes; for we find ſome of their Subſcriptions to the great Council of *Arles*. And there were ſome of them preſent about forty years after in the Council of *Ariminum*: But how large their Biſhops were then will be a very hard matter to demonſtrate. *Joffrey* of *Monmouth* reckons twenty eight Biſhops, and three Arch-Biſhops in *Lucius* his time, ſet up in the place of ſo many *Flamins* and *Arch-Flamins*, who were the directours of *A. D. 314. Sulp. Sever. l. 2. Hiſt. Britan. l. 2. c. 1. ed Aſcenſ.*

Vid. Uſſer de Primord. Eccl. Brit p. 57. Gild. bis denis biſq. quaternis Civitibus munita.

the Heathen Religion here; and this it ſeems he had from *Gildas de Victoria Aurelii Ambroſii*: But all this I ſuppoſe has no other foundation than a paſſage out of *Gildas de exidio Britanniæ*, where he mentions twenty eight Cities in *Brittian*; and another out of *Bede* who follows *Gildas*: The *Flamins* I ſuppoſe were added for ornament afterwards, by ſome impoſture under the name of *Gildas*. But all the account that I know of the number of Biſhops here, is in *Bede*, who ſayes, That in a Synod aſſembled in *Worceſterſhire* about the receiving *Auguſtine* the Monk, there were ſeven *Britiſh* Biſhops preſent, and probably all the Biſhops in the Country were there, this being the ſecond Synod aſſembled upon that ſubject, and that wherein the matter in controverſy was to be finally decided, the Biſhops that were preſent in the firſt Conference pretending they had not ſufficient Authority to make an Accomodation.

Bede Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1.

Bede, l. 2. c. 2

But whether it were upon the Authority of this Teſtimony, or of ſomething elſe more expreſs, ſo it is that the ſucceeding Hiſtorians deliver it for certain, that *Wales* had but ſeven Biſhops: *Jeffrey of Monmouth* tells us that *when* Auſtin *came over, he found in the Province of the Ancient Brittains ſeven Biſhopricks, and one Arch-Biſhoprick.* And *Gyraldus Cambrenſis* gives the reaſons why there were but four in *Wales* in his time, ſince anciently there were ſeven: *Either* (ſayes he) *there were more Cathedrals within the compaſs of* Wales

Hiſt. Brit. l. 11. c. 12. Ed. Heid.

Gyrald de Eccleſ. Men. diſt. 2. & Itiner. Camb. l. 2. c. 1.

Wales in former times, *or rather because* Wales *was of a larger extent heretofore than it was in his dayes, and reached as far as* Severn: And ſo indeed it was of much greater extent than it is now, having all the Country of *Hereford*, a good part of *Gloceſterſhire*, *Worceſter*, *Salop*, and *Cheſhire* belonging to it. And *Baleus* gives this account of the Biſhops aſſembled in that Synod mentioned before out of *Bede*: *That ſeven Britiſh Biſhops met there, for in thoſe dayes the Brittains had juſt ſo many under the Arch-Biſhop of* Menevia, *according to the number of the Biſhops of* Aſia *mentioned in the Revelation of St.* John: and then gives their names: *Hereford*, *Landaff*, *Llanbaderne*, *Vowr*, *Bangor*, *Aſaph*, *Worceſter*, and *Morganenſis* or *Glamorgan*, though this was the ſame with *Landaff*: And therefore Biſhop *Uſher* thinks, that either *Cheſter* muſt make up the ſeventh, or *Caer Ilyby*, *i. e. Holyhead* in the Iſle of *Angleſey*; and ſo perhaps it is *Epiſcopus Monenſis*, and not *Morganenſis*. But as to the number of the *Welch Biſhops* at *Auſtins* coming over, if any one deſire to know any thing more particularly, he may conſult the learned Primate of *Armach*, who has exhauſted that point: But as to the form of the Britiſh Church Government, that it was Dioceſan, and not Presbyterian or Independent, we have a modern Teſtimony, which though it be of no great Authority for the Credit or Learning of the perſons that give it; yet it is ſomething remarkable, becauſe they were profeſſed ene-

Baleus Script. Brit. Cent. 1. c. 70.

Uſher de Primord. Eccleſ. Brit. p. 87, & ſeq.

mies of the Church of *England*, and of all Diocesan Churches: It is the testimony of an Independent Synod assembled in the *Savoy*, *A. D.* 1658. *For Novelty* (say they) *for which we are both charged*, (*i.e.* the Presbyterians and Independents) *by the enemies of both*: *It is true in respect of the publick and open profession, either of Presbytery or Independency, this Nation has been a stranger to each way, it is possible ever since it has been Christian.*

Preface to their Declaration of Faith, near the end.

And now having given an account of the Rise and Progress of Diocesan Episcopacy, and the extent of Ancient Dioceses in several parts of the Christian World, I shall conclude this Chapter with a general Testimony of St. *Jerom* concerning the custom of the Church in and before his time: *Jerom* speaking of Confirmation, makes the Orthodox person in the Dialogue say these words: *I do not deny* (sayes he) *this to be the custom of the Church, for the Bishop to go about his Dioceses to confirm by imposition of hands, such as are Baptized in lesser Cities remote from* the Episcopal Seat *by Presbyters and Deacons*

Non quidem abnuo hanc esse Ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut eos qui longe *in* minoribus Urbibus *per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati sunt, Episcopus ad invocationem S. Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat. Hieron adv Lucifer.*

And the same Father speaking to the same purpose, that this was done rather to honor Episcopacy than by any absolute necessity, adds: *Otherwise* (sayes he) *those are to be mightily bewailed, who being Baptized in Villa-*

In viculis & castellis, & remotioribus locis per Presbyteros aut Diaconos baptizati.

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ges, Towns and places remote from the Bi-ſhop, have dyed before they were confirmed. Therefore it was the cuſtom of the Church then; nor does he ſpeak only of his own time, but of the conſtant practice of the Church, that Biſhops ſhould have Presbyters and Deacons under their juriſdiction in places very remote from their Cathedrals; and that little Cities, Towns or Caſtles, *i. e.* fortified Towns and Villages, might be remote from their Biſhops Seat: and ſo Dioceſes be then and before that time of a very conſiderable extent.

FINIS.

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